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by

RICHARD G. KING

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ABSTRACT

Les GoÛts-Réunis and Leclair's Concertos

The music of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (1697-1764) has frequently been cited as an example of les goûts-réunis, or the union of French and Italian styles. By examining a number of sources of the 17th and 18th centuries, this thesis shows what le goût français and le goût italien meant to Leclair and his contemporaries in purely musical terms. This knowledge is then applied to Leclair's concertos to show why they were thought in the 18th century, as they are now thought, to represent a union of the two styles. The thesis also examines the idea of the union of French and Italian styles in general, especially in the music of François Couperin (1668-1733), where les goûts-réunis is found to have two aspects, juxtaposition and fusion. In addition, the thesis provides important background for the study of Leclair's music, including a history of violin playing and the concerto in France to Leclair's time, and a study of aesthetics in 18th century France.

PREFACE

Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (1697-1764), occupies a central role in the history of French instrumental music. He is generally considered the father of the French violin school which later flowered with the violinists Bailleux, Cambini, and Rode, and the importance of his work has been emphasized by modern scholars. Marc Pincherle, for example, states that a new era in French music begins with the publication of Leclair's first book of sonatas in 1723[1] and Charles Price considers the publication of Leclair's first book of concertos in 1737 to sound the death knell for a French national style of composition in his dissertation "The Codification and Perseverance of a French National Style of Composition between 1687-1733."[2]

This thesis does not present a biography of Leclair,[3] however, there are a few important points concerning his life which should be enumerated. The first point is that Leclair was born in Lyon and remained there till about 1720. This was a stroke of luck for Lyon was ". . . the natural stopping place en route to the capital [Paris] for maestri from beyond the Alps,"[4] thus Italian music was well known in Lyon. Pincherle says the Academy of Lyon had concertos of Vivaldi in its repertoire as early as 1713 (see below, p. 8). Leclair was employed as a dancer by the Lyon opera in 1717, by which time he had also mastered violin playing and lacemaking.[5] As a musician, Leclair would most likely have been aware of the concerts of the Academy of

Lyon, thus he must have encountered the Vivaldian concerto at an early date.

The second point to note is that Leclair's first artistic successes were as a dancer. After dancing in the Lyon opera in 1717, he was active as a ballet master in Turin in 1722.[6] Leclair's thorough understanding of the French dance style resulting from these experiences contributes much to his music, for French dance forms are an important part of all his music, including his sonatas and concertos.

In 1726 Leclair was again in Turin, this time studying the violin with Giovanni Battista Somis (1686-1763), who had studied with Corelli.[7] From Somis, Leclair learned the Italian violin style.

Finally, Leclair's exposure to Pietro Locatelli (1695-1764), should be noted. In 1728 they played together (see below, p. 95), and Leclair was no doubt inspired by the technical innovations of the Italian virtuoso.

These biographical points explain much of Leclair's music: the large ratio of "Italian" sonatas and concertos in his output, the French dance basis of much of his style, and the virtuosity of his violin writing. Leclair was particularly well equippped to bring about a joining of the French and Italian styles.

The twelve concertos of Leclair are among the highlights of French instrumental music of the 18th century. Appearing in two books of six concertos apiece in 1737 and 1745, these works bring together diverse elements from the French and Italian musical styles, stamped with the highly personal approach of Leclair.

This study of these worthy concertos was undertaken to explore in depth the meaning of les goûts-réunis. While much of the background

material has been covered before (the history of violin playing in France and 18th century French musical aesthetics), the actual musical meaning of les goûts-réunis has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly explored. The enumeration of specific French and Italian musical practices according to 17th and 18th century sources is new, and it is hoped that their application to Leclair's concertos will promote a better understanding of these works, and a basis for approaching the works of other composers of the 18th century.

Among the many sources used in the preparation of this thesis, Neal Zaslaw's dissertation "Materials for the Life and Works of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné" deserves special mention.[8] In this dissertation Zaslaw has collected all the known references to Leclair for the period 1697 - 1798 thus providing an invaluable tool for the study of Leclair's music.

There are many people who helped me in the preparation of this thesis and to whom I would like to express my gratitude: Dr. Brian Harris, who helped in the early stages of this work; Jim Whittle, who helped me obtain microfilm and scores of Leclair's concertos; the Interlibrary Loans branch of the University of Alberta Library, which obtained a large number of books, articles, and microfilms without which this thesis would not have been possible; Gerri Moore for her patience and skill in typing this thesis; Dr. Nicole Mallet, for helpful suggestions with the translations; the Aston Magna Academies of 1982 and 1983, which broadened my view of the period in question; Jaap Schröder, who offered helpful suggestions and kindly read parts of this work; Neal Zaslaw, who unstintingly offered answers and questions, and bibliographical suggestions in conversation and correspondence; Dr. Alfred Fisher, who has made my stay here at the University of Alberta both instructive and agréable,

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NOTES

1. Marc Pincherle, La Technique du Violon chez les premiers Sonatistes français (Paris, 1911), repr. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), p. 2.

2. Charles G. Price, "The Codification and Perseverance of a French National Style of Composition between 1687-1733: Montéclair's Sérénade ou Concert, 1697," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1973), pp. 21-22.

3. Extensive biographies of Leclair are found in Lionel de la Laurencie, L'Ecole française de Violon: de Lully à Viotti (3 vols., 1922-24), repr. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1971), pp. 269-314; and Marc Pincherle, Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné, (Paris: La Colombe, 1952), pp. 17-50. See also the documentary biography in Neal Zaslaw's dissertation "Materials for the Life and Works of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1970), pp. 9-208.

4. Marc Pincherle, Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque, translated by Christopher Hatch, (New York: Norton, 1957), p. 250.

5. Neal Zaslaw, "Jean-Marie Leclair," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, (London: MacMillan, 1980), vol. 10, p. 589.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. See note 3.

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CHAPTER I

THE VIOLIN IN FRANCE

The violin was generally considered an inferior instrument, suitable only for dance and outdoor music, during the 16th and 17th centuries in France. As early as 1556 Jambe-de-Fer echoed this feeling:

> We call viols those with which gentlemen, merchants, and other virtuous men entertain themselves. . . . The other kind is called violin, and it is this which is commonly used for the dance and for good reason. . . few people play it except those who earn their living by playing it.[1]

This idea, the suitability of the violin for dance music, continued in France for a long time. Both Mersenne (1636) and Brossard (1705) repeat it:

> . . . this instrument is the most appropriate of all for the dance.[2]

> This instrument has a naturally very bright and merry sound which makes it most appropriate for enlivening the steps of the dance.[3]

The quote from Jambe-de-Fer above also reveals something of the social standing of the instrument and its players, (no true gentleman would ever stoop so low as to work for a living). The violin had long been associated in France with the ménétriers, roving musicians who often subsisted on playing in taverns and who occupied a very low social rank. They registered with the Provost of Paris to form a guild in 1321[4] and were barred from the city of Paris by Philippe Auguste during the first year of his reign because of their libertinage.[5]

In fact, the stigmata surrounding the violin and its players persisted well into the 18th century. Eventually the word violon came to have, as a secondary meaning, the value of an insult:

> Violin is also a term of abuse and scorn which means fool, impertinent fellow. To consider a man a Violon is as if one were to place him in the ranks of the Ménestriers who go from cabaret to cabaret playing a violin and increasing the pleasure of the drunkards.[6]

Violinists found a more comfortable existence in the Royal service. The word viollon is first found in French archives in the year 1529 and from 1533, the violin is frequently mentioned in conjunction with the King.[7] Although the Twenty-Four violins were officially established in 1626 by Louis XIII, it is evident that a royal band including violins had existed for nearly 100 years already.

In the 16th century the violins, along with oboes, sackbuts, trumpets etc., formed the Ecurie. As such they were used in the performance of outdoor music and performed only in ensembles, (more than one to a part). It was not till near the end of the 17th century that the violin began to have a solo repertoire in France. The "noble" instruments, lute, viol and harpsichord, were reserved for chamber music, while the violin was restricted to dance and outdoor music. This arbitrary division ". . . inevitably contributed to the slowness of the French to develop a technique of violin playing comparable to that of the Italians,"[8] who early recognized the potential of the instrument.

The different role accorded to the violin and the "noble" instruments was reflected in the ballet de cour as well. In these courtly entertainments, the lute and viol were entrusted with accompaniment of the voices and the playing of intermèdes symphoniques; the violin was allowed to play only the dances.[9]

Violinists in the Royal service were considered inferior to lutenists, violists, and claveçinistes, a fact which is reflected in their earnings. Where an organist in the chapel received 600 livres per year (Benoit, p. 191),[10] a claveçiniste in the Chambre 900 livres per year (Benoit, p. 198), and a violiste up to 1200 livres per year (Benoit, p. 201), a member of the Twenty-Four Violins received a mere 365 livres per year, (Benoit, p. 203). Still, they were better off than the ménétriers, ". . . deprived of such patronage, subjected to very strict police regulations, paid poorly or not at all, obliged to band together to travel the highways in search of some occasion for the exercise of their trade."[11] While looked down upon at court, their position had acquired something of status in Paris.[12]

Important changes in the social standing of the instrument came with the influx of the sonata in the late 17th century. However, the first victories for the violin in France were won by Lully. As Benoit outlines it, Louis XIV gave the first victory to the violin by giving Lully the highest honours at court including nobility; the second victory came with the violin's entry into the Chapel, proving the instrument capable of more than dance music. Then, according to Benoit, the public began to tire of the esoteric style of the violistes and, finally, the sonata and concerto triumphed in the 18th century.[13] In addition, we should note the importance of Lully allowing the violin to accompany the voice in the comédies-ballets and tragédies-lyriques he wrote in conjunction with Molière and Quinault.

But it was certainly the sonata which played the most important role in the change of the violin's social standing around 1700. During Lully's "reign," Italian music had been suppressed in France. With the death of

Lully, and with Louis XIV taking a less active role in the music and dance of the court,[14] the doors were once again opened to Italian music.[15]

Oddly enough, it may have been a German who first introduced the sonata in France. In 1682 the German violinist Johann Paul Westhoff played a solo violin sonata and a suite for Louis XIV. These works were printed in Mercure in December, 1682 and January, 1683.[16] The first sonata written in France by a Frenchman may be the Sonata for eight instruments by Marc-Antoine Charpentier, which dates from around 1686.[17] Although James Anthony disputes the authenticity of this work,[18] Julie Anne Sadie offers convincing evidence that it is Charpentier's.

In 1692 François Couperin composed the trio sonatas which were eventually incorporated into Les Nations in 1724.[19] Brossard, de la Guerre, and Rebel produced sonatas in 1695 and Brossard tells us something of the situation at that time: ". . . all the composers of Paris had, at that time, a passion for composing sonatas in the Italian style."[20] The first French sonatas to be published were those of Duval in 1704.[21] The cultivation and knowledge of this new repertoire came to have a certain snob appeal, as Lecerf noted:

> What joy, what a good opinion a man has of himself who knows something of the fifth opus of Corelli.[22]

Italian music was disseminated in France in the late 17th century through private concerts.[23] An important series was that of l'Abbé Mathieu, curé of Saint-André-des-Arts in Paris. Italian music was performed at his home and it was here that ". . . the trios of Corelli, printed in Rome, appeared for the first time."[24] Daval says Couperin heard the sonatas of Corelli for the first time at Mathieu's concerts.[25] Later, the

Concert Italien,(established 1724), and Concert Spirituel, (established 1725), became important disseminators of Italian music (these will be discussed below).

While there was a great deal of resistance to the sonata, (see Chapter II below), it continued to grow in popularity. As Zaslaw notes, between the time of Couperin's first sonatas (1692) and the appearance of Leclair's first book of sonatas (1723) no less than 31 books of violin sonatas by French composers were published, to say nothing of manuscript copies and foreign works circulating.[26]

It should come as no surprise then that the violin finally threw off the social stigmata which had accompanied it for nearly 200 years. The ultra conservative Lecerf himself recognized this change:

> This instrument is not considered noble in France . . . one finds few persons of rank who play it . . . but, after all, a gentleman who ventures to play it does not demean himself.[27]

Further evidence of the acceptance of the violin is seen in the Mercure of June, 1738 where it is noted that the violin is now cultivated by "gentlemen of the highest rank."[28]

Another evidence of the increasing popularity and acceptance of the violin is the appearance in France of instruction manuals on the violin for amateurs. As Boyden notes:

> By 1700 the violin had become relatively respectable. It had ceased to be the exclusive property of a professional class of servant-musicians, and was now being played by amateurs in sufficient numbers to inspire a theoretical literature for their instruction.[29]

The appearance of violin tutors by Brossard, Montéclair, Dupont and Corrette[30] attests to this same "arrival" of the violin in France.

Finally, the increasing importance of the violin and violinists is reflected in the payment given to Leclair and Guignon in the Royal service in 1734, when each received 1500 livres per quarter (as compared with a Royal violinist receiving 365 livres per year in the 17th century; see above, p. 3).[31]

This, then, is the atmosphere which prevailed at the time when Leclair's concertos first appeared. The violin had become a respectable instrument, suitable for serious music, and the favored solo instrument at the Concert Spirituel.[32] The relative merits of virtuoso violinists, such as Leclair and Guignon, were discussed endlessly by the public (see Chapter IV, pp. 98-99) and French violin music saw its first flowering.

The Concerto in France Before Leclair

While the sonata and cantata[33] were rather quickly accepted and emulated by the French, the concerto took much longer. French sonatas and cantatas had already appeared by the 1680's but it is not until 1727 that the first works bearing the title "concerto" appear. While Bukofzer attributes this delay to the "deeply ingrained conservatism" of French composers,[34] there are other factors which contributed to French reticence towards the concerto. Certainly, French chauvinism, which had grown in the 17th century under Colbert's policies and been focused by the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns (See Chapter II below) contributed to their reluctance.

In addition, the French had a peculiar distaste for virtuosity in and of itself. This attitude is described in the preface to Aubert's Concert de simphonies pour les violons, flûtes, et hautbois (1730):

> Although Italian concertos have had some success for many years in France . . . it can still be noted that this sort of music is not to everyone's taste in spite of the competence on the part of some of those who perform it. . . . Moreover, most young people, believing themselves technically proficient enough to perform the extraordinarily difficult passages found in nearly all these works, lose the gracefulness, clarity and beautiful simplicity of French taste. . . .[35]

French simplicity and "grace" are opposed to Italian "difficulty."

The same attitude is reflected in the Mercure de France eight years later where, on the subject of the concerto, we find:

> There are certainly some very beautiful ones, but they have given our youth the taste for noise and great uproar and thereby one certainly loses delicacy, elegance, and feeling.[36]

The pursuit of virtuosity is associated with the young in both quotes above. No doubt there was something of a "generation gap" at this time in France, the younger generation of musicians being largely responsible for the invasion of Italian music, while older, more conservative players tried to maintain the French tradition.[37]

Like the sonata before it, the concerto was promoted in France by private patrons. Pierre Crozat[38] and the Marquise de Prie both encouraged Italian music in Paris and together formed the Concert Italien, (see below). The duc d'Orléans, Regent of France from 1715-1724, had a pronounced taste for Italian music[39] and employed Italian musicians, some of whom exercised important influence on the French musical world (for example, Battistin Stuck and Michele Mascitti[40]). The duc de Bourbon also encouraged Italian music.[41]

Other venues for the concerto include the Académie des Beaux-Arts of Lyon and the court in exile of the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Emanuel.

Pincherle says that as early as 1713 the academy in Lyon included concertos of Vivaldi in its repertoire.[42] Dean states that it may actually have been at the court of Maximilian Emanuel, exiled in France from 1705-1714, that concertos were heard in France for the first time. The composer Evaristo Dall'Abaco, while serving Emanuel, had his Op. 2 concertos published in Amsterdam in 1712. As Dean notes, these concertos may have been played at Emanuel's court during the period of 1712-1714 and thus would qualify as being among the first concertos heard in France.[43] If so, they might have been known in Paris for Parisian musicians, including Desmaret and Anet, served Emanuel for varying periods at this time.[44]

The concerto was in fact known in France rather earlier than the dates provided above by Pincherle and Dean. On the inside front cover of Jean Rousseau's Méthode claire . . .[45] (fifth edition, published before 1707)[46] the publisher Mortier advertises works of Corelli, Torelli, Marini, Albinoni and others, including Albinoni's Op. 5 concertos. Also, Lecerf de la Viéville states that Parisian organists were transcribing Italian concertos for the organ as early as 1705.[47]

The most important role in the dissemination of the concerto in France must be accorded to the Concert Spirituel. Formed in 1725 by Anne-Danican Philidor, the first concert of this series on March 18, 1725 included, in addition to music by Delalande, Corelli's "Christmas Concerto", op. 6, no. 8.[48] Philidor resigned in 1728 and under new administration

> . . . the complexion of the concerts changed somewhat. Italian performers and compositions were much in vogue and instrumental music began to achieve a significance [at the Concert Spirituel] that would contribute substantially to the development of the sonata and concerto in France.[49]

By the early 1730's, each program contained at least one sonata or concerto.[50] The Concert Spirituel soon acquired an international reputation and composers and performers all over Europe came to look upon it as an especially important proving ground. Thus musicians of the calibre of Somis and Stamitz were drawn to Paris, thereby providing models for French composers.[51]

Another important series was the Concert Italien, established in 1724. At these concerts the orchestra was made up mostly of Italian players and only Italian music was performed.[52]

The French concertists seem to have identified mostly with the Vivaldian concerto. Around the turn of the century Corelli's sonatas were, as we have noted, very influential. But aside from the concerti grossi of the Neapolitan Michele Mascitti, (1727), French concertos of this time mostly follow the Vivaldian rather than the Corellian concerto form (in other words, the three movement solo concerto form as opposed to the multi-movement concerto grosso form). Pincherle notes that Vivaldi's Op. 3 and Op. 8 sets were most esteemed and that in France between 1715 and 1750 ". . . there was not only a craze, but nearly a cult, as regards Vivaldi.[53]

It is difficult to date the beginnings of the concerto in France. One reason for this difficulty lies in the terminology itself. In the first half of the 18th century the French used the terms sonata, suite, concerto, and symphony indiscriminately.[54] Another difficulty lies in the establishment of a definite chronology. Manuscript copies of concertos existed sometimes for years before publication and it is in most cases impossible to date them. We know, for example, that Guignon had composed a violin concerto of his own by 1730, for his performance of it

before the queen is noted in the Mercure de France of that year.[55] Leclair may have performed his own concertos as early as 1728.[56]

The problem is further compounded by lack of dates on published works as well. Naudot's op. 11, for example, which Brofsky says contains six "full-fledged solo concertos," can be dated only as being pre-1737, when they were listed in Leclerc's Catalogue général de musique imprimée ou gravée en France (1737).[57]

Another problem is encountered when we read desciptions of the concertos by modern scholars for they often disagree on even the most basic things. For example, while Brofsky claims that the lack of ripieno in Boismortier's Op. 15 concertos illustrates ". . . the equivocal use of the term [concerto] at this time," Anthony notes that " . . . much of the time the music is organized in alternating solo and tutti groups."[58] When it comes to describing the form of these works, the differences are even more pronounced (see below, p. 12).

With these difficulties in mind, a chronological history of the concerto in France, based on published works, is presented here, but it cannot be considered definitive until more research is done in this area.[59]

1727

Michele Mascitti: Sonate a Violino Solo, e Basso e Quattro Concerti a Sei.[60] (Op. 7)

The four concertos which conclude this collection are concerti grossi in the tradition of Corelli, having a concertino of two violins and one cello, but having only one violin in the ripieno. Two of the concertos are in five movements, (Op. 7/9 and Op. 7/11), one is in four movements, (Op. 7/10), and one is in two movements, the final movement being an extended passacaglia variata (Op. 7/12). Many of the fast movements are in binary form; as Dean notes, Mascitti does not use ritornello form in

these works.[61] Finally, Laurencie's statement that Mascitti does not exploit opposition effects between concertino and ripieno[62] does not hold up under an examination of the music by this writer. The following example shows one characteristic use of such opposition effects -- there are many others in these concertos (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1. Mascitti, Op. 7/9/iii.

Boismortier: VI Concertos pour 5 Flûtes-Traversieres ou autres Instrumens sans Basse (Op. 15)

In the same year, (1727), Joseph Bodin de Boismortier published these works, the first to introduce the three-movement concerto form in France.[63] The six concertos are all in three movements but the order of movements seems a mystery.[64] Of three concertos from this set seen by this author, two are slow-fast-fast, or SFF, (numbers 1 and 3), and one is FSF (number 2). Both Pincherle and Anthony state that the themes of these concertos are mostly in the French style,[65] but this too is somewhat misleading. The following example illustrates some of the Italianate themes found in these works (Ex. 2). Frequent unison passages and the use of ritornello form[66] betray the influence of Vivaldi.

Ex. 2. Boismortier, Op. 15/2/i

a) Allegro

Boismortier, Op. 15/3/ii

b) Allegro

1728

Michel Corrette: VI Concertos pour les Flutes, Violons, ou Hautbois avec la Basse Chiffrée pour le Clavecin, Op. 3.

On these concertos James Anthony writes:

> These may rightfully be considered the first concertos in France written by a native Frenchman that conform to the typical features of the Italian concerto.[67]

All six concertos of this set are FSF. Three of them, (numbers 1, 3, and 5), are for two flutes and violoncello obbligato; the others, (numbers 2, 4, and 6), are for three flutes and cello. The two types of instrumentation are paralleled by two different musical approaches. The concertos for two flutes show predominantly binary form movements and little emphasis on a solo instrument. They are Corellian in the frequent alternation of ripieno and concertino texture. The concertos for three flutes are of a different nature, using ritornello form and other typical solo concerto devices, such as unison passages, as well as showing more emphasis on a solo instrument (the first flute).

1729

Boismortier: Cinq sonates pour le violoncelle, viole, ou basson, avec la basse chiffrée, suivies d'un concerto pour l'un ou l'autre de ces instrumens (Op. 26).

The final work of this set represents the first published solo concerto in France.[68] This concerto is in three movements (Allegro, Largo, Allegro). The outer movements are in ritornello form with solo and tutti materials clearly delineated. All the ritornellos occur in the tonic key (D Major), with modulation confined to the solos. The middle movement is in the dotted rhythm overture style of the French. On this work Brofsky writes, ". . . obviously a primitive conception underlies a

concerto 'for one or the other of these instruments,' "[69] perhaps thinking that idiomatic writing is essential to the solo concerto idea. This is of course true, but Brofsky's statement is unacceptable for two reasons. The first is that Boismortier composed the work specifically for the cello[70] and the solo part works well on the instrument (it plays less easily on the viol). In addition, the types of figuration for the solo instrument are typical of many Italian concertos (Ex. 3). Secondly, the "for one or the other of these instruments" merely reflects a practical consideration for it expands Boismortier's possible market. Vivaldi's Op. 8/9 and Op. 8/12, and Leclair's Op. 7/3 are similarly suitable for more than one instrument but they cannot be judged "primitive" for this reason.[71]

1734

Aubert: Concerto à quatre violons, violoncelle, et Basse continue (Op. 17)

The six concertos of this set constitute the first solo violin concertos published in France. These works are all in three movements and all follow the FSF plan.[72] Each of the concertos features a solo violin but some of the movements show elements of the concerto grosso style as well. An example of this is seen in the first movement of the first concerto where the initial tutti is followed by eight bars of music for a typical concertino group (two violins and cello--Ex. 4a). A tutti interjection after this is followed by solo violin figuration (Ex. 4b). A similar mixture of concerto grosso and solo concerto is seen in the first movement of the sixth concerto of this set as well.

The third movement of Op. 17/6 is very clearly a solo violin concerto movement, with a series of ritornellos following the usual

Ex. 3. Boismortier, Op. 26/6/i

Ex. 4. Aubert, Op. 17/1/i

a) Allegro

b) Allegro

modulatory plan (i-III-v-i) and solo violin featured throughout. This movement even has a cadenza for the soloist (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5. Aubert, Op. 17/6/iii

1737

Leclair: Six Concerto a tré violini, alto, e basso . . . .

The above survey has omitted a host of wind concertos published by Boismortier between the 1727 set listed above and the concertos of Leclair (1737)[73] for it is only essential to note the major events: the first concertos composed and published in France (Mascitti, 1727); the first concertos published by a Frenchman and in three movements (Boismortier, 1727); the first string concertos (Corrette, 1728); the first solo concerto (Boismortier, 1729); and the first solo violin concertos Aubert 1734-35). The numerous concertos comiques for flutes, oboes, musettes etc. by Corrette have also been omitted.[74]

But it must be noted that, as Paillard says "the winds, not the violin, introduced the concerto form to France."[75] By the time of Aubert's solo violin concertos more than fifty compositions for winds bearing the title "concerto" had already been published in France.[76]

With the appearance of Leclair's concertos in 1737, the concerto form becomes fully established in France, an event in which Leclair played an important role, as Saint-Foix notes:

> . . . a personality as outstanding as that of J.M. Leclair contributed, to a large extent, to the success of the concerto.[77]

CHAPTER II

LES GOUTS-REUNIS

In this chapter we will examine French musical aesthetics of the 17th and 18th centuries and investigate the French-Italian musical controversy of the first half of the 18th century. Out of this quarrel grew the idea of a union of two styles which would result in the perfection of music and which was realized in the music of Leclair. This union may conveniently be called les goût-réunis.[1]

French fascination with Italian culture can be traced back to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494.[2] Nobles returning to France brought back with them a taste for Italian lifestyles and arts. Italian influence remained strong in France throughout the 16th and through much of the 17th centuries. The marriage of Henry II to Catherine de Medici in 1533 and the power she had over her son, Charles IX, during his minority greatly strengthened Italian influence at court.[3] This influence continued with the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Medici (in 1594) who also held power, along with Richelieu, during the minority of her son, Louis XIII. The deaths of Richelieu (1642) and Louis XIII (1643), brought the Italian Giulio Mazarini to power and the importing of Italian writers, actors, artists and musicians continued until his death in 1661.

Awareness of differences in literary style of the two nations appeared in France early in the 16th century. Lemaire de Belges' poem La Concorde des deux langages, (Paris, 1513), is an early work comparing the two manners of expression.[4] In two parts, "The Temple of Venus," imitating Petrarch's tercets, and "The Temple of Minerva," in French

alexandrins, the work concludes by calling for an end to strife and ". . . mutual appreciation for the other's merits."[5]

An awareness of the differences in musical style of the two nations is not seen till the 17th century and the writings of Doni, Mersenne, and Maugurs. Giovanni Battista Doni, (1594-1657), criticized French music for its excessive restraint and apparently provided much of Mersenne's information on the Italian style.[6] Mersenne contrasts tranquil French music with fiery Italian music in a manner which becomes common in the 18th century.[7] Maugurs also criticizes French restraint[8] and contrasts many aspects of the two styles.[9] Following the writings of these men, there was a ". . . gradually increasing awareness of rival styles . . ."[10] in the 17th century in France.

While Mersenne and Maugurs were receptive to Italian music, many others in France were not. The ". . . first real anti-Italianism"[11] in France was the civil war known as the Fronde (1648-53).[12] The enormous expense of Italian operas mounted by Mazarin was a focal point (a rallying call) for this revolution.

When Louis XIV took control of the country in 1661 an era of unrivalled centralization of power and nationalization began. A concurrent rise of national pride was no doubt responsible for the success of Perrin and Cambert's Pastorale d'Issy (1659). Perrin explained this success as a result of ". . . the passion to see our language, our poetry, and our music triumph over a foreign poetry and language."[13] As Bukofzer notes:

> These vainglorious nationalistic feelings were nurtured by Colbert who, in keeping with his theories of mercantilism and national self-sufficiency, also promoted the idea of spiritual autarchy.[14]

The conscious formulation of a French style by Lully in his ballets and operas is no doubt partially a result of this nationalistic pride.

The year 1661 also saw the publication of ". . . the first extended pro-French comparison of French and Italian music,"[15] Pierre Perrin's "Lettre écrite à Monsieur l'archevesque de Turin," which was very critical of Italian opera.[16] The first half of the 18th century would see the publication of many such pro-French comparisons of the two styles.

French musical aesthetics of the 18th century represent but one facet of a unified French theory of the arts. This doctrine, based on reason and the imitation of nature, originated in literary criticism in the 17th century and derives ultimately from Aristotle's aesthetic theories. In the 17th century Jean Chapelain and Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac introduced to France ". . . the critical concepts and aesthetic theories of the Italian commentators on Aristotle," and through them, ". . . Aristotelian aesthetic theories became central to French classicism."[17] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux ". . . codified the doctrine of reason, clarity and Aristotelian imitation propounded by his predecessors," Chapelain and Balzac.[18] Two lines from Boileau's L'Art Poëtique (1674) will perhaps suffice to make clear his position:

> Love Reason then, that all your writings take from
> her alone their distinction and their value.[19]

La raison was the goal; strict observation of the rules and the imitation of nature were the means.[20] The imitation of nature was a central idea in French aesthetics. As Maniates notes, Aristotle's theory of imitation refers originally to the aural arts:

> (Poetry, drama, and music). . . all happen to be, on
> the whole, imitations. . . . (Poetics, I, 15-16)[21]

This theory was extended by French writers to include all the arts, visual as well as aural.

The word "nature", as used by 17th and 18th century musical theorists, has essentially two aspects: la nature physique, or the sounds of the world around us, and la nature morale, or the emotional states of man (the passions).[22] Both of these aspects are ruled over by the concept of belle nature, which means, essentially, nature which is worthy of treating, or worthy of recognition.[23]

Imitation of la nature physique could be the most basic kind of literal representation advocated by Bacilly:

> . . . one finds unacceptable an air in which the author has neglected to place high notes on words which designate high things, such as the sky, the stars, or low notes on the words earth, ocean, fountain; in this way, one thinks the melody is poorly applied to the words if it does not express the sense of each word in particular.[24]

Imitation of la nature morale was more difficult to define. Eventually, French theorists had to admit that this idea, far from the objective fact they envisioned, was actually a very personal and subjective thing:

> . . . we would not enjoy a work if it was not consistent with that which is judged natural by the human heart. . . . I will gladly admire an author provided he often remains within my sphere. . . my own standard is that which I am pleased to call natural.[25]

As Ecorcheville notes, it is not la nature (nature), but notre nature (our nature).[26] No wonder so many critics of the period give la nature a different meaning.

One aspect of the French theory of imitation in the arts was the creation of a strict hierarchy in those arts. Literature was highest in this hierarchy, followed by the visual arts and, finally, music.[27] The arts were ranked according to their inherent ability to imitate nature:

> Music rests on a slightly lower level than poetry because its imitation of emotion is less natural and <u>specific</u> than that of [poetry]. . . .[28] (my emphasis)

Because music is not as specific as poetry, it must be joined to poetry:

> 1. . . . words can give music concreteness of emotional association and meaning which alone it cannot possess
> 2. in order for music to approach the most natural manner of imitating passions, it must imitate declamation.[29]

Thus, a hierarchy exists within music itself, with instrumental music lying below vocal music. This is one reason why the French found it so difficult to accept Italian sonatas and concertos, which ". . . did not even ask them to imagine the theatre,"[30] let alone a textual accompaniment. As Lecerf says,

> Instrumental music is the least important part of music. . . . the first and most essential is that of the singer.[31]

Pluche clearly describes the French position:

> It is difficult to apply ourselves when no thought arrests us, and sounds are scarcely separate from the word which gives them sense. The most beautiful melody, when it is only instrumental, becomes necessarily cold, then dull, because it expresses nothing. . . .Sonatas are music in the same way as marbled paper is painting.[32]

Opera, then, was seen as ". . . le grand chef-d'oeuvre de la Musique,"[33] while instrumental music was suitable perhaps for "decorating" an evening of conversation or a meal.[34] But instrumental music was still subject to the same inflexible doctrine of imitation. This is perhaps one reason why so many of the pièces of the claveçinistes and violistes carried titles; to have meaning they would have to be associated with a person, object, or idea.

The idea of the inferiority of instrumental music persisted well into the 18th century. D'Alembert writes in 1760:

> It must be admitted that, in general, one does not feel the full power of music unless it is linked to words or to dances.[35]

As late as 1779, Le Pileur d'Apligny still asserts the supremacy of vocal music over instrumental:

> It is not enough for the musician to understand perfectly the rules of melody and harmony; if nature did not make him a poet at birth, he will never be capable of more than writing good concertos.[36]

In the second half of the 18th century, some writers, (for example, Boyé and Chabanon), do ". . . recognize that musical meaning must be liberated from the arbitrary demands of imitative aesthetics. . . ."[37] Also, throughout the 18th century we find writers who attribute some power to instrumental music.[38] Nonetheless, the mainstream of aesthetics concerning instrumental music is that which has just been described.

But while the theorists placed instrumental music on a decidedly lower level than opera, there can be little doubt that in the first half of the 18th century there grew a taste for music in and of itself:

> Music is no longer considered only as the enjoyable complement to a performance; it is enjoyed for itself, and although its seriousness is augmented principally when it is associated with a dramatic presentation, it is nevertheless appreciated, and more and more each day, for the pleasure it can bring to social life. . . .[39]

There is no better proof of the growing importance and popularity of instrumental music than the great success of the Concert Spirituel.

The doctrine of imitation lies at the very root of the French-Italian controversies of the 18th century.[40] The French could not understand music which appealed totally to the senses. For them, music, like all the arts, had to have a goal, the imitation of nature, which was realized through association with words or ideas and based on a vocal style.[41] Italian sonatas and concertos clearly did not strive to imitate nature because they were not associated with words or ideas, (see Pluche quote above, p. 23), and were, essentially, in a non-vocal style.

A second aspect of the French objection to Italian music was the French concept of le goût or bon sens. Bon sens dictates moderation and emotional restraint, thus the French abhorrence of what was perceived as Italian excess:[42]

> True beauty is in moderation. . . .Too little decoration is nudity; that is a fault. Too much decoration is confusion; that is a vice. . . .[43]

> One appreciates the true beauty of the attire only as much as it exhibits reserve, distinction, and, especially, propriety.[44]

The French-Italian controversy raged on through most of the 18th century, but there were four major querelles during that time:

1.) Raguenet-Lecerf (1702-07);

2.) Ramistes-Lullistes - begins with the presentation in 1733 of Rameau's first opera, Hippolyte et Aricie. Rameau was perceived to have "italianized" French opera;

3.) Querelle des Bouffons - follows the presentation of Pergolesi's La Serva Padrona on August 1, 1752;[45]

4.) Gluckistes - Piccinistes (1770's).

In all of these, opera was the focal point; nonetheless, many of the principles which arose from these controversies are equally applicable to instrumental music.[46]

The Raguenet-Lecerf querelle began with the publication in 1702 of François Raguenet's Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra.[47] While Raguenet's aim was to objectively compare the French and Italian styles, he reveals himself to be pro-modern (in other words, pro-Italian) by the title of his work, which paraphrases Charles Perrault's Parallèle des anciens et modernes,[48] and he clearly favors Italian music.

In 1704, Lecerf de la Viéville published a reply to Raguenet's Parallèle . . . the Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française, a series of arguments countering Raguenet's claims. Lecerf approves "natural" French music and criticizes "affected" Italian music. As Cowart notes, Lecerf's creed ". . . is based on the literary theory of the 17th-century classical critics, especially Bouhours and Boileau, who attack Italian literature for its artificiality and affectation. . . ."[49] Lecerf merely equates Italian music with Italian literature, therefore the same criticisms apply.

A detailed account of the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle is unnecessary, since it has been so frequently documented and discussed.[50] The writings of Raguenet and Lecerf were reviewed and discussed in the contemporary periodicals Journal des Savants and Memoires de Trévoux and were thus undoubtedly well known. In fact, the musical querelles of the 18th century were of interest to many:

> . . . philosophers, literary people, scientists, wits, the city and the court, artistocratic and bourgeois salons; everyone concerns himself with music, is interested in it, becomes passionate about it. . . .[51]

But while the quarrels over French and Italian music were well known, Italian music itself was not. The French based their opinions on a very small amount of Italian music. This was noted by Charles de Brosses in his Lettres familières (1739-40):

> In Paris, we hear pretty Italian minuets, or great airs full of roulades; then, after paying tribute to the beauty of the harmony and melody, we assert that Italian music knows only how to play on syllables, and that it lacks the expression which characterises sentiment. That is not the case at all. . . .[52]

De Brosses then states that it is actually the most simple and touching moments of Italian operas which are most admired in Italy, but the French singers never perform these.

There are two important ways of viewing the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle. The first is to see this controversy as essentially a continuation of the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes of the 17th century:

> Rightly understood, the controversy between Raguenet and Freneuse [Lecerf] is not so much concerned with the rival claims of French and Italian music as with those of a 'classic' and a 'modern' style. As such it is simply a part of the larger quarrel between the ancients and moderns, begun in France by Boileau, Fontenelle, and the brothers Charles and Claude Perrault. . . .[53]

The quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns in France is frequently dated from 1687, the year of Charles Perrault's poem Le Siècle de Louis le Grand.[54] The quarrel came about

> . . . as pride in modern progress and national identity began to conflict with a long unchallenged belief in the superiority of the art, literature, and philosophy of the ancient world.[55]

Perrault thus points to Louis XIV as a modern king as great as the ancient kings, and to Lebrun and Racine as having excelled the ancients in the visual and literary arts.[56] The quarrel was transferred directly to music by Lecerf who explicitly states that the ancients and moderns are represented by the French and the Italians:

> In comparison with the Italians, the French musicians are our ancients.[57]

A parallel controversy existed in painting at the same time, that of color vs. drawing. The essence of this quarrel was that drawing is purely intellectual and appeals to the mind whereas color appeals to the eye, in other words, the senses.[58] In the late 17th century the quarrel developed into that of the Poussinistes, who upheld drawing as the most important aspect, and the Rubénistes, who upheld color.[59] Poussin believed that

> . . . the highest aim of painting is to represent noble and serious human actions . . . appealing to the mind rather than the senses, [the artist] should suppress such trivialities as glowing colour, and stress form and composition.[60]

The quarrel of colour vs. drawing closely parallels that of Italian and French music, the one appealing to the senses, the other to the intellect. To put it another way, it is a confrontation of subjective and objective ways of viewing art. This, then, represents the second way of viewing the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle:

> In reality, the debate between Ancients and Moderns represented a dialectic between the subjective [Moderns] and objective [Ancients] modes of criticism . . . the Moderns championed a greater emphasis on individual taste and the subjective response of the listener.[61]

This is, in essence, the stance of Raguenet, who reacts subjectively to Italian music, while Lecerf reacts objectively. French and Italian musical styles

> . . . embodied in tangible form the underlying critical and aesthetic questions of the age. French music was seen by its partisans as the ideal embodiment of reason and rules, the perfect imitation of belle nature and of ancient music drama, while Italian music was praised for its sonorous appeal to the senses, its manifestations of creative genius that could be apprehended through feeling rather than through knowledge.[62]

The Raguenet-Lecerf quarrel is really about whether sound for the sake of sound, (sensual pleasure), is an acceptable part of music, thus it is but one manifestation of the age old problem of l'art pour l'art.[63]

While the quarrels over the merits of the French and Italian styles raged on, some writers proposed that the two nations could learn

from each other and that a union of the two styles would result in "the perfection of music." The journals Memoires de Trévoux and Journal des Savants, which early on became involved in the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle, had offered an early suggestion that the French and Italian styles "might be appreciated on their own merits," and, in 1706, the Journal des Savants proposed that each might learn from the other.[64] In 1713, the Mercure Galant published the "Dissertation de Mr. L. T. sur la musique italienne et française," which suggested

> . . . that one would create a perfect type of music, if one could join the learned and ingenious style of the Italian with the natural and simple good taste of the French. . . .[65]

Thus the term goûts-réunis had already been defined in essence before Couperin coined it in his publication of ten concerts in 1724, Les Goûts-Réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts. Couperin wrote that this title ". . . serves to mark the diversity of styles which one will find here assembled,"[66] but it is in his Apothéose de Lulli of 1725 that he offers a real definition of the term, one which sounds remarkably similar to that of the Mercure in 1713:

> Apollo persuades Lully and Corelli that the union of the French and Italian styles will result in the perfection of music.[67]

As Cowart notes:

> The attempts at reconciliation offered in the Journal des Savants (1706), the Mercure (1713), and by Couperin in his Goûts-Réunis, effected a solution of sorts to the problem raised by Raguenet and Lecerf, and served to bring controversy over French and Italian music to a temporary conclusion.[68]

The presentation of Rameau's Hippolyte in 1733 would cause the controversy to flare up once more.

While the journalists had offered the suggestion of a union of the two styles in 1713, composers had long been attempting a joining of the styles. The Pastorale d'Issy (1659), of Perrin and Cambert represents an early attempt at les goûts-réunis for in the preface we read:

> Our language is capable of expressing the most beautiful passions and the most tender sentiments, and if one mixes the Italian style of music a little with our manner of singing one may achieve something in between the two, more agreeable than either.[69]

Michele Mascitti clearly speaks of goûts-réunis in the preface to his Opus 2 sonatas of 1706:

> I have found such lovely ideas in French music, that I have tried in some of my sonatas to blend it with the Italian style.[70]

Similarly Jean-Baptiste Morin describes a union of the two styles in the preface to his volume of French cantatas of 1706, noting that he has tried

> . . . to retain the sweetness of the French style of melody, but with greater variety in the accompaniments, and employing those tempos and modulations characteristic of the Italian cantata.[71]

André Campra, in the preface to his Cantates Françaises of 1708, writes that he has attempted ". . . to mix the vivacity of Italian music with the gentleness of the French."[72]

Attempts at a union of the two styles continued after the Mercure article of 1713 and Couperin's Goûts-Réunis (1724). In 1728, for example,

The Venetian Saggione received a privilège to publish his Airs français dans le goût italien [73] and in 1728 and 1729 the Concert Spirituel presented a Union de la musique italienne et française by the cellist Battistin Stuck.[74]

The idea of mixing the French and Italian styles persisted in the 1730's, when the first book of Leclair's concertos was published. In 1732, Titon du Tillet speaks of a goûts-réunis in the music of the violinist Senaillié:

> He blends there in a most pleasant way the natural, noble, and graceful melody of French music, with the learned and brilliant harmony of the Italians. . . .[75]

And in 1736 Cartaud de la Vilate, like Mr. L.T. and Couperin before him concludes that

> . . . perfection in the art of music may be obtained only through the reconciliation of Italian compositional technique with French simplicity and naiveté.[76]

It is probable that Leclair, a well read man,[77] was aware of the idea of a union of the two styles. It is certain that he knew of Stuck's Union de la musique italienne et français, for he played a concerto on the same date in 1728 at the Concert Spirituel.[78] At any rate, his music certainly represents one of the outstanding realizations of the goûts-réunis idea.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN STYLES

In the 16th century the violin was used in both France and Italy for dance music and to accompany voices, doubling the vocal parts.[1] It was only in the 17th century that a clear distinction between French and Italian styles of violin playing began to develop. This distinction was first based on functional considerations, (the purposes for which the violin was used), and soon came to be characterized by several means including the manner of holding both violin and bow, the materials involved in sound production, (strings and bow), technique, and the kind of sound sought by the violinists of each nation.

With their development of the sonata in the early 17th century, the Italians made the violin a "serious" instrument, suitable for performance in both chamber and church, and developed a new style of playing, expanding the range of the instrument and creating new, idiomatic types of figuration. The French were conservative for, as we have seen, the violin was still associated with the dance in the 17th century, a function it had served since its invention.[2]

In this chapter the essential differences between French and Italian styles of violin performance and composition in the 18th century are described. Primary sources provide a wealth of information on the differences between the styles of the two nations. The following survey of these sources presents a contemporary view of the differences--one which is then used to examine Leclair's concertos.

Materials

For information on the differences between French and Italian strings and bows we are chiefly indebted to Raguenet who says that the Italian violins ". . . are mounted with strings much larger than ours; their bows are longer, and they can make their instruments sound as loud again as we do ours."[3] His statement about bows refers to what has been called the Italian "sonata bow," which was considerably longer than the traditional French dance bow.[4]

Raguenet's observation on Italian strings is questionable, for the Italians played at significantly higher pitch than the French (see "Pitch" below). In order to play at this higher pitch their strings would in fact have had to be thinner, not thicker, if tension remained the same.[5] While we have found no reference to "new, Italian" strings in France, the following quote illustrates Bollioud-Mermet's dissatisfaction with the unnaturally thin strings of the new sonata player in France:

> The desire to shine causes him to take a tone so high that strings of a natural thickness will not hold and he is thus obliged to mount his violin with hairs, so to speak, strings which give thin sounds. . . .[6]

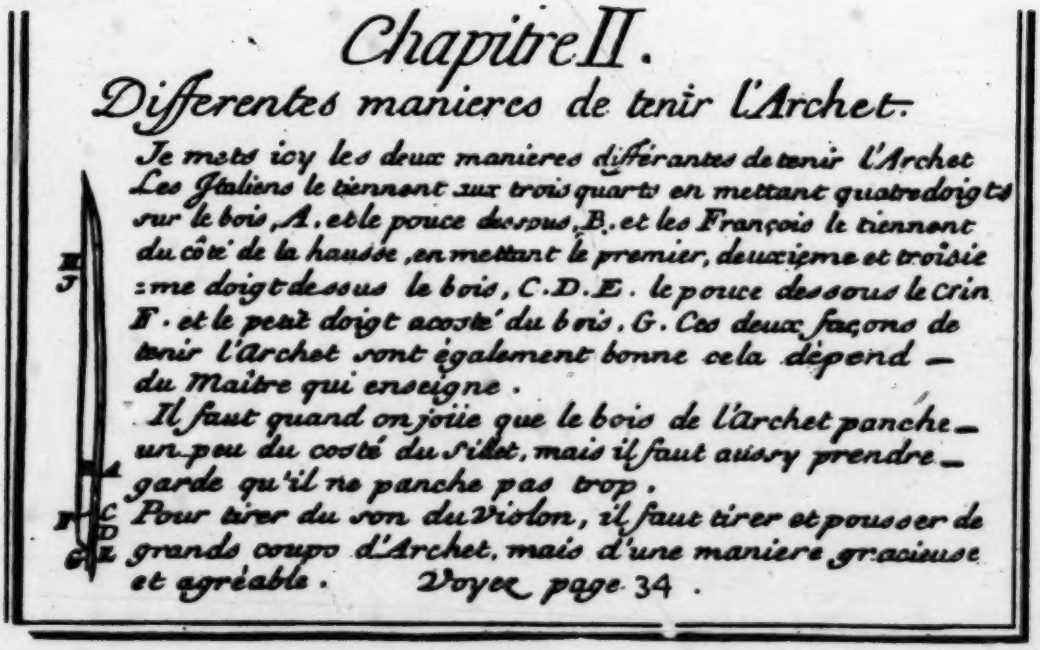
Bollioud clearly says that the higher pitch results in thinner strings. His association of these strings with sonata players[7] illustrates the probability that Italian violinists and violinists trained in Italy (for example, Senaillié and Leclair) brought Italian strings to France.

Bow Grip, Violin Grip, Violin Clef

French and Italian violinists differed in their bow grip, the way they held the violin, and in the clef used for violin music. Perhaps the

clearest description of the two ways of holding the bow is that found in Corrette's L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738). (Figure 1)

Figure 1. Michel Corrette, L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738), p.7.



Chapitre II.

Differentes manieres de tenir l'Archet.

Je mets icy les deux manieres différantes de tenir l'Archet Les Jtaliens le tiennent aux trois quarts en mettant quatre doigts sur le bois, A. et le pouce dessous, B. et les François le tiennent du côté de la hausse, en mettant le premier, deuxième et troisie :me doigt dessous le bois, C.D.E. le pouce dessous le crin F. et le petit doigt acosté du bois, G. Ces deux façons de tenir l'archet sont également bonne cela dépend — du Maître qui enseigne.

Il faut quand on joüe que le bois de l'archet panche — un peu du costé du Silet, mais il faut aussy prendre — garde qu'il ne panche pas trop.

Pour tirer du son du violon, il faut tirer et pousser de grands coups d'Archet, mais d'une maniere gracieuse et agréable. Voyez page 34.

The relevant part of the text reads:

> Here I illustrate the two different manners of holding the bow. The Italians hold it about 15 centimeters from the frog[8] placing four fingers on the stick, A, and the thumb beneath, B, and the French hold it on the side of the frog, placing the first, second, and third fingers above the stick, C, D, E, the thumb beneath the hair, F, and the little finger beside the stick, G. These two manners of holding the bow are equally good; it depends on the teacher.

The difference between the French and Italian grips was noted by Muffat in the preface to his Florilegium Secundum of 1698:

> The majority of German violinists . . . hold the bow like the French by gripping the hair with the thumb . . . the Italians . . . do not touch the hair.[9]

French violinists slowly adopted the Italian grip during the course of the 18th century. While Montéclair's Méthode . . . of 1712 recommends holding the bow in the French manner[10] Corrette's Orphée (1738) illustrates both methods and says, "These two manners of holding the bow are equally good, it depends on the teacher."[11] But by the time of L,Abbé le fils' treatise (1761), the French grip has become obsolete; l'Abbé does not even mention it.[12]

A similar evolution is to be seen in the manner of holding the violin. As Boyden notes, if one compares the lithograph of the painting by Gerard Dou of 1665 with the frontispiece of Corrette's Orphée (1738),[13] one can see how the French violin grip has changed. The violin, held at the breast in the traditional dance style in the Dou lithograph has, in Corrette's illustration, now moved up to the collarbone and is supported by the chin. The "breast-grip" sufficed as long as simple dance music remaining in first position was played,but it became necessary to support the violin when more difficult music appeared, especially music requiring shifts, as Corrette noted:

> It is necessary to place the violin on the chin when one wishes to shift; this gives complete freedom to the left hand.[14]

Again, an evolution of sorts can be seen in the treatises. While Brossard recommends holding the violin at the shoulder, below the cheek

or lower if it is more comfortable,[15] Corrette and L'Abbé both recommend supporting the violin with the chin.[16]

Boyden associates the holding of the violin at the shoulder or neck with Italian players:

> The Italians probably preferred the neck (or high shoulder) position for most music, judging by their quick gravitation to this position after 1600.[17]

He also notes that the French probably learned this grip from the Italians:

> . . . it appears likely that the French had been somewhat influenced by the Italians over a period of time. Pictures [around the turn of the 18th century] show the violin held at the shoulder or neck, the customary Italian position, but relatively little at the breast, the position traditional to the French in the past.[18]

Thus, there existed a difference between the two nations in the manner of holding the violin, at least up to about 1700.

A distinctive feature of the French violin school was the use of the G clef on the first, or bottom line of the staff, as opposed to the more usual G clef on the second line. In his Dictionnaire de Musique Brossard notes that all other countries use the G clef on the second line for violin music, while the French use it on the first line.[19] Brossard says the first way (second-line G clef) is good when the melody goes very low while the second (first-line G clef) is preferable when the melody goes very high.[20] These remarks reflect something of the range demanded by the violin music of the two nations, the Italians making more use of the lower notes of the violin than the French (for more on this, see below under "Sound Ideals").

The two violin clefs are mentioned in numerous treatises of the period.[21] While French sonata composers began to adopt the Italian clef as early as 1708,[22] it is not clear when the French clef was abandoned. Pincherle says that after 1715 all French sonata writers used the Italian clef[23] while Boyden says the use of the French clef persisted up to 1725 ". . . as an inheritance from the past and possibly as a symbol of resistance to Italian influence."[24] In fact its use continued rather longer than the dates provided by these authors. The two clefs were often used to distinguish between the French and Italian styles. In the Apothéose de Lulli (1725), Couperin used the French clef for his representation of Lully, the Italian clef for that of Corelli. Corrette used the French clef for the portions of his L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738) in le goût français, the Italian clef for the exercises and pieces in le goût italien. The use of the French clef continued till rather late in the more conservative and traditional genre of opera. Rameau used the French clef in his opera Hippolyte et Aricie of 1733 and continued to use this clef until the 1750's, at least, for the manuscript copy of his Daphnis et Eglé of 1753 shows the French clef in the violin parts.[25]

Sound Ideals

Musicians and theorists of the late 17th century and through much of the 18th century noted a great difference in the sound produced by French and Italian violinists. This was a result of differences in the range accorded to the violin, the pitch at which the instruments were tuned, the manner of attacking the string, and the basic bow stroke.

French violinists to the 18th century confined themselves mostly to the first position, not playing beyond c^3 on the E string, reached by a

semitone extension of the fourth finger in first position.[26] Mersenne defines the range of the violin as being from open string G to b^2.[27] Brossard, writing 75 years later, expands this by only a single semitone, still remaining in first position, (in other words, G - c^3).[28] The French avoided the upper registers of the instrument, finding the sound disagreeable, (see Lecerf below, p. 40), and unnatural. Characteristic of this is Brossard's statement that it is possible to extend the range of the violin past c^3,

> . . . but, for that, it is necessary to displace the hand, and that is forcing the instrument; in a word, the moment it passes a perfect fourth above two octaves [in other words, past c^3], it is no longer, so to speak, the violin. . . .[29]

It is interesting to note that, as late as 1741, Rameau does not exceed this range in the violin part of his Pièces de Clavecin en Concert.

In addition to avoiding the upper range of the instrument, the French also avoided the lower range, specifically the G string. While this may be at least partially attributed to the unresponsiveness of a pure gut G string, there is little doubt that the French had a taste for the "medium" range of the instrument. Brossard's observation as to the usefulness of the second-line G clef when the melody goes low (see above, p. 37) can be adduced as partial evidence that the French, using first-line G clef rarely wrote that low for the violin.[30] In Pierre Dupont's violin treatise of 1718 (Principes de Violon) the lessons begin with the open D string and the range is from d to c^3. The G string is not even mentioned, nor is its use required by Dupont's examples. Further evidence of French use of only the upper strings is provided by Mersenne and Bollioud-Mermet, writing over 100 years apart:

> . . . one almost only plays the chanterelle and the second string of the violin. . .[31]

> . . . he [the new sonata player] plays practically nothing but the two upper strings. . . .[32]

In addition, we note Raguenet's preference for the Italian violins playing higher than the French. After noting that the French second violin ". . . descends too low to deserve our attention," Raguenet says,

> In Italy the upper parts are generally three or four notes higher than in France, so that their seconds are high enough to have as much beauty as the very first with us.[33]

Lecerf responds to Raguenet's accusation by saying,"The first upper parts of the Italians squeak because they are too high. . . ."[34] This complaint with Italian violinists playing too high was to become fairly common in the 18th century. Bollioud-Mermet says of modern performers (in other words, Italian or Italian influenced performers) ". . . their sin most often lies in excessively high pitch. . . ,"[35] and elsewhere:

> He neglects the entire range of the instrument and scorning, so to speak, the sonorous tones which he would find there, he applies himself to extracting shrill, often out of tune, sounds.[36]

Quantz also berates Italian violinists for playing too high:

> They seek the greatest beauty at the place where it is not to be found, to wit, the extremely high register, or at the end of the finger board. . . depriving the instrument of the gravity and agreeableness which the thick strings are capable of giving it.[37]

An extreme example of this tendency can be seen in the Caprices of Locatelli's Op. 3 of 1733 (Ex. 6).

Ex. 6. Locatelli Caprice No. 22 from Op. 3 (1733)

The limited range prescribed by French writers is a reflection of the essentially Renaissance outlook of the French summed up in the phrase "musica id est ars cantandi".[38] A second aspect of this vocal conception of all music is the constant emphasis on the ability of instruments to imitate the voice. Mersenne says that if we prize instruments for how well they imitate the voice, the viol should be valued most[39] and Jean Rousseau notes that the viol is admired for ". . . coming closest to the voice, which all instruments must imitate."[40] In the 18th century this concern is still seen in the demands of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (among others), that instrumental music must imitate le chant.[41]

The medium range preferred by the French tells us something about the kind of sound they produced. Remarks by Muffat and Quantz on the pitch used by the various nations tell us more:

> The pitch to which the French tune is ordinarily a whole tone, and in the operas even a minor third, lower than that called Cornett Ton in Germany, which they find too high, too whining, and too forced.[42]

Quantz also notes a lower pitch in use by the French:

> The disagreeable choir pitch [Chorton] prevailed in Germany for several centuries . . . But after the French had transformed the German cross-pipe into the transverse flute . . . using their lower and more agreeable pitch, the high [Chorton] began to be supplanted by the chamber pitch [Kammerton].[43]

The actual pitch represented by the Chorton is thought to be a = about 480, while that of the Kammerton, which Quantz recommends,[44] is a = about 410.[45] As Quantz notes, this Kammerton is approximately a minor third below Chorton.[46] Muffat had noted that Lully's opera orchestra played at

a pitch a minor third below Chorton[47] (see above), thus this pitch, a = about 410, is thought to represent that of Lully's orchestra.[48]

According to Quantz, the highest pitch in use in his time was that of the Venetians, a significant observation for us, since it was the Venetians who developed the solo concerto. This pitch is thought to be a = about 455.[49] Finally, Quantz speaks of "Parisian" and "very low French chamber pitch," both thought to be a = about 380.[50]

The lower pitch used by the French, (a = 380 or 410) must have given their violins a markedly different sound from that of the Venetians and Germans (a = 455 or even 480). The French sound would have been richer, more sonorous while having less volume than that of the Italians and Germans, whose higher pitch undoubtedly gave them greater volume and, especially, brilliance. Muffat notes that the French considered this brilliant sound ". . . too high and too forced."[51]

But this apparently changed over the course of the 18th century. Quantz writes, "At present, the Parisian pitch [formerly a = about 380] is beginning almost to equal that of Venice [a = about 455]."[52] Bollioud's remarks quoted above (p. 34) substantiate Quantz's claim of rising French pitch. Perhaps the French began to raise their pitch as the concerto became established and soloists were forced to seek greater volume and brilliance.

The sweetness of the French sound was often contrasted with the violence of that of the Italians:

> He admired the performance of our violins . . . he was greatly discouraged by the coarseness and harshness of the greatest Italian masters, when he had savoured the tenderness of touch and the neatness of our French masters.[53]

The difference in approach between the two nations seems to have been in the manner of attacking the string, with the French using a gentle attack,[54] the Italians a much harder one.

The French taste was reflected by Lecerf:

> In truth, mademoiselle, your Italians carry too far a certain desire to elicit sound from their instruments . . . they produce a sound excessively shrill and violent. I am always afraid that the first stroke of the bow will make the violin fly into splinters, they use so much pressure.[55]

On this point at least Raguenet and Lecerf are in agreement. Raguenet also finds the Italian violin sound disagreeable:

> As to the instruments, our masters touch the violin much finer and with a greater nicety than they do in Italy. Every stroke of their bow sounds harsh, if broken, and disagreeable, if continued.[56]

Finally, Muffat commented on the French manner of attacking the string:

> The greatest skill of the true Lullistes consists in that among so many retakes of the bow at the frog, one nevertheless never hears anything unpleasant nor harsh but, on the contrary, one finds . . . a tender sweetness. . . .[57]

The basic bow stroke of French and Italian players was also contrasted, particularly by Quantz, who compares a short, articulated French stroke with a legato Italian stroke:

> In general it is to be noted that in the accompaniment, particularly in lively pieces, a short and articulated bow stroke, wielded in the French manner, produces a much better effect than a long and dragging Italian stroke.[58]

Raguenet admires the legato abilities of the Italian violinists. When Italian violins are to express tranquility, Raguenet says,

> Every string of the bow is of an infinite length, lingering on a dying sound which decays gradually till at last it absolutely expires.[59]

Similarly, LeBlanc, on the playing of the Italian G.B. Somis, says,

> . . . a single stroke of the bow lasted so long, that the memory of it takes one's breath away.[60]

The ability of the Italians to sustain a note for so long was no doubt related to the greater length of their bow (see Raguenet, above, p. 34). The articulated French stroke, while partially due to their shorter bow, was also a product of the bowing discipline inaugurated by Lully. This discipline, often called the "Rule of the Down-Bow,"[61] was designed to cause the bow strokes and articulation patterns of the music to correspond with the steps of the dance and its most characteristic aspect was the reprise d'archet, or the lifting of the bow and replacing of it at the frog to execute two consecutive down bows - thus an articulation for which, as we have seen, the French were noted, (Plate 1--in the musical examples of this illustration the "t" designates tiré or down bow, and the "p" poussé, or up bow).

Performance

"Avoid these excesses, leave to Italy all this false brilliance and foolish glitter."[62] Thus Boileau expressed a typically French attitude which applied as easily to the Italian manner of performance as to their poetry:

Plate I. Pierre Dupont, Principes de Violon (1718), p. 5.

Explication du coup d'archet, de la mesure a 3. temps.

D Quel est le coup d'archet de la Leçon d'acôté
R Lorsque lón trouvera vne croche entre 2. noires, dans la mesure a 3. temps, marquée par un 3. lón doit tirer la p.re noire, pousser la croche et tirer la noire, qui acheve la mesure, cõme le t. p. et t. vous l'enseigne, ainsi des autres mesures, songez a tirer la p.re note de chaque mesure.

2.e regle generale du coup d'archet de la mesure à 3. temps, lorsqu'il y aura vne noire, et 4. croches.

D Quel est le coup d'archet de la Leçon d'acôté.
R Lorsque l'on trouvera vne noire et 4. croches, dans vne mesure a 3. temps, marquée par un 3. lón doit tirer la noire, pousser les 2 p.res croches et tirer la 3.e pour pouser la 4.e
D Pourquoy ne mettez vous pas dans t. et des p. sous toute les notes
R Comme lón ne trouvera point de t. ni de p. dans les livres de musique, il est plus apropos de donner des regles gen.les

Regle du coup d'archet, lorsqu'il y aura 4. croches et vne noire, dans la mesure a 3. temps.

D Quel est le coup d'archet, de la 5.e Leçon d'acôté.
R Lorsque lón trouvera 4. croches et vne noire dans la mesure a 3. temps, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t
D Qu'elle diferance faites vous de la 4.e Leçon, a la 5.e
R C'est qu'a la 4.e la noire est avant les croches et a la 5.e les croches sont avant la noire, ce qui fait que le coup d'archet est different.
D Qu'elle remarque faite vous du coup d'archet, pour la mesure a 3. temps, marquée par un 3.
R Lorsqu'il y aura nombre pair dans les croches, et qu'il y aura vne noire au cõmencem.t de la mesure, lón doit tirer la noire et pousser les 2 p.res croches, comme le t. et les 2. p. de la 4.e Leçon l'enseigne, et quand les croches seront avant la noire, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t cõme le t. p. t. p. t. de la 5.e Leçon l'enseigne.

Explication de la 6.e Leçon,

D Qu'elle remarque faite vous dans la 6.e Leçon d'acôté.
R Lorsque lón trouvera vne noire pointée et 3. croches dans la mesure a 3. temps, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t vne blanche et vne noire de même, et quand il y aura 2. croches entre 2. noires, il faut tirer la noire et pouser 2 fois pour les 2. croches.
D Qu'elle remarque faite vous encore.
R Lorsqu'il y a un point au cõmencem.t de la mesure, il faut pousser la p.re croche et tirer la 2.e
D Qu'elle remarque faite vous de la mesure a 2. temps.
R Lorsqu'il y a 4 noires, il faut tirer et pousser cõme l'archet vient a blanches de même, c'est a dire que lorsqu'il y a nombre pair, il faut tirer et pousser cõme l'archet vient, lón en parlera par la suite emplem.t cõme des autres.

3.e Leçon, pour aprendre a jouer les quartes. 3
4.e Leçon, pour aprendre a jouer les quin
5.e Leçon, pour aprendre a jouer les siete
6.e Leçon, pour aprendre a jouer les 7.e
7.e Leçon.

> The Italian manner of playing is arbitrary, extravagant, obscure, frequently bold and bizarre, and difficult in execution. . .[63]

Quantz' description of Italian performance echoes the complaints of many a French writer in the 18th century, particularly with regard to the difficulty of Italian music. Mr. L.T. had complained bitterly about this difficulty noting the great velocity of their playing and the complication of their figured basses:

> Is a composer not truly glorious for having written a piece so full of modulations, so full of B, E, and naturals, and of such speed, that none can get hold of it, that he can scarcely decipher it himself? Here is a piece, says he, which I defy all instrumentalists to play, nor harpsichord players to find the chords, without great difficulty.[64]

Aubert had contrasted the difficulty of Italian concertos with the simplicity of the French style in the Preface to his Concert de simphonies . . . (ca. 1730):

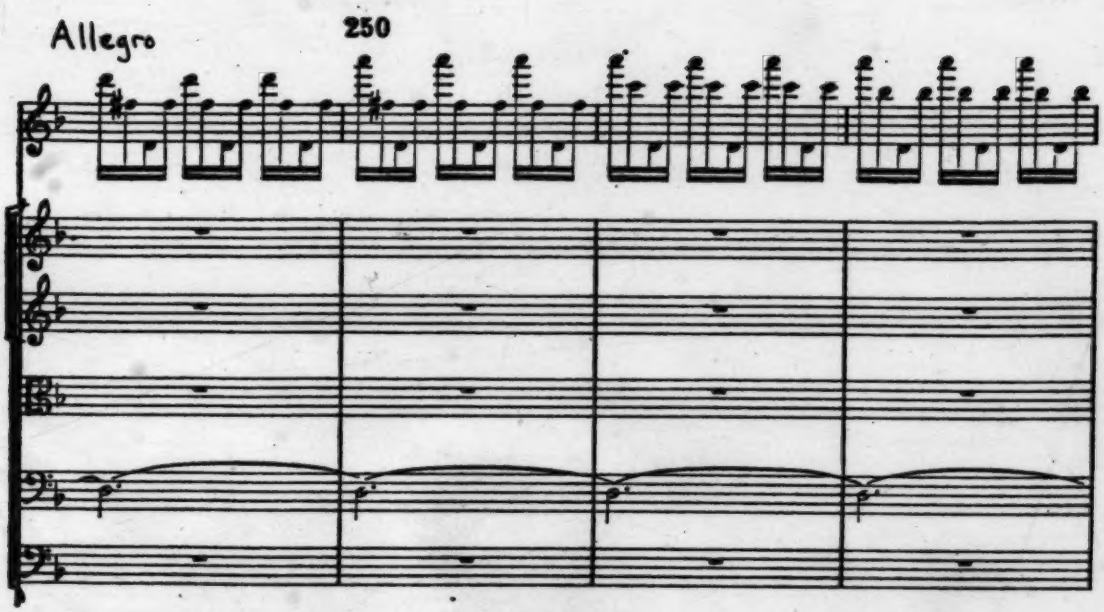
> Moreover, most young people, believing themselves technically proficient enough to perform the extraordinarily difficult passages found in nearly all those works, lose the gracefulness, clarity, and beautiful simplicity of French taste,[65] (See Ex. 7).

Quantz too noted the simplicity of French performance:

> The [French] instrumentalists, especially the keyboard players, do not ordinarily devote themselves to the performance of difficult feats, or to the use of many embellishments in the Adagio. . . .[66]

Quantz also notes that since French music is easier to perform than Italian, a beginner should master French music first.[67]

Ex. 7. Vivaldi, Op. 8/8/iii



Quantz contrasts the performers of the two nations with regard to clarity of execution:

> . . . [the French violinists] execute their pieces with much distinctness and accuracy, and thus at least do not spoil the good ideas of the composer. Because of their distinct execution, they make better ripienists in an orchestra than the Italians.[68]

> . . . the beginner is to be advised to use French propriety and clarity to temper the obscurity of the playing of the Italians, chiefly caused by their bowing, and by the excessive addition of graces, a matter in which the Italian instrumentalists go too far, and the French in general do not go far enough.[69]

On this "obscure" bowing of the Italians, Quantz writes:

> In the Allegro they consider the sawing out of a multitude of notes in a single bow-stroke to be some special achievement.[70] (Ex. 8)

Ex. 8. Vivaldi, Op. 8/5/iii ("La Tempesta di Mara")

Finally, the Italian "passion" in performance must be noted. Mersenne describes this particular aspect of Italian performance and, while he is describing vocal music, his remarks are equally appropriate to violinists as well, as we shall see in quotes from Raguenet and Galliard:

> With regard to the Italians . . . they depict as well as they can the passions and the affects of the soul and of the mind, for example, anger, fury, spite, rage, the failings of the heart, and many other passions, with such strange violence, that one would almost think them touched by the same passions they represent in singing, while our Frenchmen are content with caressing the ear and making use of a perpetual sweetness, which hinders energy.[71]

Raguenet says that if a storm or rage is to be expressed in a symphony, the Italian violinist

> . . . is seized with an unavoidable agony; he tortures his violin; he racks his body; he is no longer master of himself, but is agitated like one possessed with an irresistible motion.[72]

This seemingly extravagant characterization is echoed by the following description of Corelli's playing, attributed to Galliard:

> I never met with any man who suffered his passions to hurry him away so much whilst he was playing on the violin as the famous Arcangelo Corelli, whose eyes will sometimes turn as red as fire; his countenance will be distorted, his eyeballs roll as in agony, and he gives in so much to what he is doing that he doth not look like the same man.[73]

One can imagine how this kind of performance would be viewed by contemporary Frenchmen, so reserved, so tied to the concept of bienséance or propriety. We shall compare contemporary accounts of Leclair's playing with these accounts in the next chapter.

Ornamentation

One area in which French and Italians clearly differed was that of ornamentation, specifically in the notation of ornaments, the kind and amount of ornaments, and in the use of the unwritten tradition of notes inégales.

Quantz notes that the French write their embellishments in the music, specifically prescribing the ornamentation. This is opposed to the Italians' lack of written ornamentation, the performer being expected to supply his own:

> For pieces in the French style are . . . composed with appoggiaturas and shakes in such a fashion that almost nothing may be added to what the composer has written. In music after the Italian style, however, much is left to the caprice, and to the ability, of the performer.[74]

J.-J. Rousseau also spoke of this difference between French and Italians:

> I have taken from the two musics airs equally esteemed each within its genre, and, stripping them, the ones of their constant ports-de-voix and cadences [in other words, French], the others of their implied notes, which the composer scarcely bothers writing and which he leaves to the intelligence of the singer [Italian]. . . .[75]

This kind of freedom for the performer was completely foreign to French music, largely thanks to Lully, who banished the tradition of ornamental improvisations when he took control of the 24 violins. The effects of Lully's discipline were still felt over 100 years later and are to be seen in J.- J. Rousseau's definition of the Cadenza:

> French music, especially French vocal music, which is extremely slavish, leaves the singer no such freedom [as the cadenza], which he would be quite uncomfortable to use.[76]

The two nations were contrasted in the kind of ornamentation they used. Quantz characterizes these by the terms "essential," corresponding to the French, and "extempore," corresponding to the Italians.[77] He describes the difference as follows:

> The Adagio may be viewed in two ways with respect to the manner in which it should be played and embellished; that is, it may be viewed in accordance with the French or the Italian style. The first requires . . . embellishment with the essential graces, such as appoggiaturas, whole and half-shakes, mordents, turns, battemens, flattemens, etc. but no extensive passage-work or significant addition of extempore embellishments . . . . In the second manner, that is, the Italian, extensive artificial graces that accord with the harmony are introduced in the adagio in addition to the little French embellishments.[78]

Quantz goes on to say that with the extempore ornaments of the Italians, ". . . knowledge of harmony is indispensable . . ." where the French manner of embellishing the Adagio ". . . may be learned without understanding harmony."[79] Examples 9 and 10 present the two styles of embellishment for comparison. In the first of these, by François Couperin, the top line represents an ornamented version of the middle line and is meant to serve as a varied repeat.[80]

The freedom accorded the performer in Italian music often resulted in abuses of the privilege. Lecerf had criticized Italian music for excessive ornamentation, when, noting that music must be natural and simple, he wrote "I call simple the music which is not loaded with ornaments. . . ."[81] On Italian ornamentation Mr. L.T. writes ". . . could one not say . . . that their too frequent and out of place ornaments stifle expression?"[82] To this, Mr. L.T. opposes Lully:

> . . . did he [Lully] resort to all this false brilliance and these misplaced ornaments of Italian music? Nothing is more simple and more natural than his music.[83]

Similarly, Bollioud-Mermet on the new style of sonata player (in other words, Italian or Italian influenced player), says,

> Moreover it is far too common to play the note exactly as it is written. One must decorate, embellish, show off the hand, virtuosity, difficulty. . . . The quickness of the written figures is not enough; one must double it. It is no longer a question of moving nor pleasing; one must astound, astonish.[84]

Quantz too notes that

Ex. 9. Couperin, "Premier Courante," Ordre I of Pièces de Clavecin (1713)

Ex. 10. Vivaldi, Op. 4/5/ii

> . . . present day Italian instrumentalists, particularly violinists, . . . crowd the Adagio with so many graces and wild runs, that you would take it for a jocular-allegro. . . .[85]

These abuses were not, however, as limited to Italian performers as the authors quoted above would have us believe. Remarks by both Couperin and Leclair attest to similar problems in France:

> I am always astonished, after the pains I have taken to indicate the appropriate ornaments for my pieces . . . to hear persons who have learnt them without heeding my instructions. Such negligence is unpardonable, the more so as it is no arbitrary matter to put in any ornament one wishes. I therefore declare that my pieces must be performed just as I have written them; . . .[86]

and,

> . . . an important point, which one cannot emphasize enough, is to avoid this confusion of notes which are added to expressive and melodic pieces, and which serves only to disfigure them.[87]

Another area in which French and Italians differed was in the application of notes inégales. Several contemporary writers considered this to be a French practice. Muffat calls the practice "à la Françoise" when he says certain notes

> . . . are not played equal with one another as they are written, but are changed in the French manner by adding the value of a dot. . . .[88]

Etienne Loulié implies that inégales are unique to French music when he says that equal notes (égales) are

> used in melodies in which the sounds follow each other in disjunct motion, and in all sorts of foreign music, where one never alters them rhythmically except where indicated.[89]

François Couperin states flatly that inégales are only used in French music:

> . . . we write differently from that which we play . . . on the contrary, the Italians write their music in the true values in which they have been conceived. For example, we make unequal several eighths in a row in conjunct motion, however, we write them equal.[90]

There is evidence that inégales were not applied only to French music. Michel Corrette, in his Méthode de la Flûte Traversière (ca. 1730), writes:

> The four-time C or ¢ is much used in Italian music, as in the Allemande, Adagio, Presto of sonatas and concertos. It is necessary to perform the quavers equal and to make unequal [pointer] the semiquavers two by two. These are also sometimes performed equal in Allegros and Prestos of sonatas and concertos . . . the 2/4 or 2/8 is the 2-time of the Italians. This measure is often used in the Allegros and Prestos of sonatas and concertos. The quavers must be performed equal, and the semiquavers made unequal: they are also sometimes performed equal in sonatas.[91]

Is Corrette describing the use of inégales by Italians? It seems more likely that he is describing a French manner of performing Italian music. Perhaps the French eventually came to apply their own performance practice to the Italian sonatas and concertos, (a mini goûts-réunis), in which case we may still consider notes inégales to be a French practice.

Harmony

In our examination of differences between French and Italian styles recognized by contemporaries, we have so far explored differences in the bow and strings, the bow grip, the clef used for violin music, the bow stroke and sound ideal of each, aspects of performance, and ornamentation. Another area in which the two styles were seen to differ was in that of harmony. Contemporaries contrasted French and Italian music in the amount of dissonance and chromaticism, and in the amount and kind of modulation.

Raguenet contrasts the two styles with regard to dissonance:

> It is not to be wondered that the Italians think our music dull and stupefying, that according to their taste it appears flat and insipid. . . .The French . . . aim at the soft, easy, the flowing and coherent . . . there is nothing bold and adventurous in it. . . . But the Italians pass boldly and in an instant from b-sharp to b-flat and from b-flat to b-sharp; they venture the boldest cadences and the most irregular dissonance . . . (Examples 11 and 12).[92]

He goes on to say that the French are fairly unable to perform these Italian dissonances ". . . being accustomed to the most soft natural intervals. . . ."[93]

Ex. 11. Vivaldi, Op. 8/11/1

Ex. 12. Vivaldi, Op. 4/8/i, (string parts)

Mr. L.T. also contrasts French and Italian music, noting that, with dissonance, one must not ". . . diminish its force by too frequent usage, as the Italians do, . . ." but that one must also avoid ". . . falling into monotony . . . for which the Italians could reproach us . . . " (for not enough use of dissonance).[94]

The two styles were contrasted with regard to diatonic as opposed to chromatic progressions. Quantz notes " [the French] prefer diatonic rather than chromatic progressions."[95] Lecerf criticizes Italian music in this area. For him, music must, as we have noted, (p. 52) be "natural" and "simple". He defines "natural" as

> . . . the music which is composed of notes that present themselves naturally, [i.e. diatonic -- French] which is not composed of notes that are far fetched or out of the ordinary [i.e. chromatic --Italian].[96]

Bollioud-Mermet contrasts the style of Lully with the modern, Italian influenced style:

> I admire him [Lully] especially in the preference he gave to diatonic harmony, in the careful, sober manner in which he used chromatic harmony.[97]

Example 13 shows the typical diatonic harmony of Lully, while Example 14 illustrates the chromatic approach of Vivaldi.

Ex. 13. Lully, "Ballet des Nations" from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Cinquième Entrée.

Ex. 14. Vivaldi, Op. 3/11/ii

The French and Italians were thought to differ in the amount and kind of modulations in their music. Mr. L.T. criticizes the Italians for their frequent modulations:

> . . . their pieces wallow through all the keys, and change mode at every instant, in such a manner that one cannot say at the end which key they are in.[98]

Mr. L.T. also notes that, because of temperament, these Italian modulations " . . .sound out of tune when played on the instruments, and chiefly on the harpsichord. . . ."[99] Again, the example of Lully is brought to bear against this:

> If one reproaches Lully for rarely having used modulations, it is not that he was unaware of their usage, but that he adapted himself to the subjects at hand . . . he knew full well that a melody is not more beautiful for having modulated a semitone up or down. . . .[100]

It was not only in the amount of modulation that the two countries differed, but also in the manner of modulating:

> The French would think themselves undone if they offended in the least against the rules. . . . The more hardy Italian changes the tone and the mode without any awe or hesitation . . .[101] (Ex. 15).

Ex. 15. Vivaldi, Op. 4/7/iii

The French care with modulation was compared with Italian freedom by J.-J. Rousseau as well, who notes that one advantage Italian music has over French is

> . . . the boldness of their modulations which, although less slavishly prepared than ours, add vigorous energy to the expression. It is by this means that the musician, passing quickly from one key or mode to another, and suppressing, when necessary, the intervening, pedantic transitions [which the French never do] . . . .[102]

One type of unprepared modulation characteristic of Vivaldi is the sudden move up a minor third from vi to I (Ex. 16) or from iii to V (Ex. 17). This type of modulation without preparation is also seen in Leclair's Op. 7/4 (See Chapter IV, p. 112).

Tempo

National differences existed in the area of tempo, and were recognized by contemporaries. The French were noted for the moderation of their tempos, the Italians for extremes of slowness and quickness. Quantz writes:

> What in former times was considered to be quite fast would have been played almost twice as slow as in the present day. . . . Contemporary French musicians have retained this style of moderate speed in lively pieces to a large extent.[103]

Muffat notes:

Ex. 16. Vivaldi, Op. 3/12/i

Ex. 17. Vivaldi, Op. 3/3/i

> In directing the measure or beat, one should for the most part follow the Italians, who are accustomed to proceed much more slowly than we do at the directions Adagio, Grave, Largo, etc., so slowly sometimes that one can scarcely wait for them, but at the directions Allegro, Vivace, Presto, Piu Presto, and Prestissimo much more rapidly and in a more lively manner.[104]

While Muffat is contrasting Italians and Germans, his remarks are equally applicable to the French.

Finally, Zaslaw notes that C.P.E. Bach may have been referring to the French when he wrote, "In certain other countries there is a marked tendency to play adagios too fast and allegros too slow."[105]

Another difference between the French and the Italians noted by contemporaries was in precision of measure, or the keeping of one tempo throughout a piece. The French apparently altered the tempo freely from measure to measure, while the Italians maintained one tempo throughout a piece. Raguenet, Corrette, and J.-J. Rousseau note the precision of the Italians:

> They beat no time to the bands in Italy, and yet you never find 'em out in the measure of the time.[106]

> While the accomplished violinists play Adagios and Largos without beating time, this does not prevent them from playing in time, which the cellist must also watch, and which the Italians practice with great accuracy, beating time only in large ensembles.[107]

> The third advantage [of the Italians], and that which gives melody its greatest power, is the extreme precision of measure which is felt in the slowest movements, as well as in the fastest. . . .[108]

J.-J. Rousseau describes the difference between the two styles of performance in his article "Chronometre", noting that the French musician

> . . . sings or plays more or less slowly from one measure to another, and even from one beat and one quarter beat to that which follows. In truth, this objection, which has great power for French music, would have none for Italian music, unfailingly subordinate to the most exact time. In fact, nothing better illustrates the perfect contrast between the two musics. . . . Italian music takes its energy from this subjection to precision of measure; French music looks for its energy in subjecting to its will this same measure, in pressing it, in slowing it down, according to what the style of the melody demands. . . .[109]

A sort of tangential proof of the existence of this French practice of free tempo is provided by admonitions by both Couperin and Leclair concerning such liberties:

> Be very careful never to alter the tempo in measured pieces, and never to hold notes whose value is completed.[110]

> It is . . . ridiculous to change the tempo of two rondos written to follow one another, and to play the major one faster than the minor one. It is good to enliven the major by one's manner of playing it, but this can be done without accelerating the beat.[111]

Meter

Contemporary musicians and theorists noted differences in the time signatures used by French and Italian composers. In some cases this amounted to the use of different signatures for the same effect:

> Further, although at the sign 2 the measure is very slowly divided into two parts [with the Lullistes], the notes have nearly the same value as they have with the Italians at the sign C and the additional direction 'Presto'. . . .[112]

> One should, in imitation of the Italians, use the sign 3/8 or 6/8 to mark the movement . . . but the use of a simple 3 or 3/4 has prevailed [in France].[113]

In other cases, however, it was noted that some signatures in use in one country were used rarely, or not at all, in the other. After discussing the time signatures in common usage Jean Rousseau states,

> Still other time signatures are used in Italy, such as 9/8, 12/16, and 3/16, which are written in the same manner as those marked above,[114]

and, later:

> Many other time signatures are used in Italian music, such as 12/4, 12/8, 9/4, 9/8, and others, (the implication is that they are not used in French music).[115]

Michel Corrette, in his Ecole d'Orphée, distinguishes the uses of each signature by each nation[116] and notes which signatures are unique to each:

> (6/4) . . . is used in French music for loures . . . forlanes, and sometimes in the reprise of ouvertures. It is very rarely found in Italian music;
>
> (3/2). . . is used very little in French music . . . Italian composers very often write sarabandes and adagios in this meter; and,
>
> (9/8) . . . is rarely found in French music, but rather often in Italian music such as gigues, allegros, prestos. . . .[117]

Corrette also notes that the signatures C and 2/4 are ". . . very frequent in Italian music." [118]

L'Ecole d'Orphée can be roughly divided into four sections: a preliminary one detailing the elements of music and general information on playing the violin, two middle sections containing "Lessons for learning to play the violin in the French style" and "in the Italian style," and a final section dealing with positions on the violin and offering more advanced études and an explication of Italian terms used in music. It is in the two middle sections that we learn more about which time signatures Corrette considered appropriate to the music of each nation. In the lessons in the French style, the time signatures used are 3, 2, and ¢, followed by a 6/8 gigue and 6/4 Forlane.[119] In the Italian section the lessons are in C, 2/4, 3/8, and 3/4.[120] Moreover, each of these sections ends with a piece in the appropriate goût, the French with a suite, using the time signatures ¢, 3/8, 3, and 6/4, and the Italian with a sonata using C, 2/4, 3/4, and 3/8.

The same kinds of observations made by Corrette on the uses of various signatures and the "national identity" of certain meters were made by Hotteterre in his L'Art de preluder sur la Flûte Traversière of 1719.[121] To summarize the views of Rousseau, Corrette, and Hotteterre we present the following table which cannot be considered comprehensive but which does give some idea of the differences perceived by these authors:

Figure 2

French	Both	Italian
3 , 2 , ¢ , 6/4	3/8 , 3/2 ,[122]	C , 2/4 , 3/4 , 9/8 , 3/2 , 6/8 ,[123] 12/4 , 12/8 , 9/4 , 12/16 , 3/16

The views of Corrette, Jean Rousseau, and Hotteterre are supported by an examination of the music of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the music of Lully, the man considered in the 18th century to be the most purely French of French composers, we discover a preponderance of the signatures 3, 2, ¢, 6/4 and 3/8.[124] In the same way that Lully may be considered representative of the French style, Corelli and Vivaldi may represent the Italian style. Corelli's Op. 5 reveals a predominance of the signatures C and 3/4, with 6/8 and 12/8 also appearing frequently.[125] In three of Vivaldi's most important concerto collections (Opp. 3, 4 and 8), the most common signatures are again C and 3/4 followed by, in order of frequency of appearance, 3/8, 2/4, and 12/8,[126] (surprisingly, 6/8 appears only once in the 36 concertos, in Op. 3/10).

To complete this examination of the differences between the French and Italian styles, a list of terms used in 17th-and 18th-century sources to describe the two styles is presented here:

Figure 3

Descriptions of the French and Italian Style in 17th-and 18th-Century Sources

Source	French	Italian
Bouchard (1635)	suave, agreeable	
Mersenne(1636)	perpetual sweetness	extreme passion, strange violence
St. Evremond(1683)	tenderness of touch, neatness	coarseness, harshness
Muffat(1698)	tender sweetness	
Raguenet(1702)	soft, easy, flowing, coherent	bold, irregular
Lecerf(1704)	natural, simple	
Brossard(1705)	flowing, natural, sweet	piquant, florid, expressive
Morin(1706)	sweetness	variety
Mr. L. T.(1713)	natural, simple, sweet noble	bizarre, learned inventive, ingenious
Aubert(c. 1730)	gracefulness, clarity beautiful simplicity	difficulty
Titon(1732)	natural, noble, graceful	learned, brilliant
Cartaud(1736)	simplicity, naiveté	compositional technique
Quantz(1752)	circumscribed, clarity propriety, accuracy	arbitrary, eccentric

CHAPTER IV

THE UNION OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN STYLES IN LECLAIR'S CONCERTOS

Before beginning an examination of goûts-réunis in Leclair's concertos it is necessary to first determine what the term meant in purely musical terms. Unfortunately, when speaking of the union of French and Italian styles, Leclair's contemporaries give us very little specific information about French and Italian music per se. A glance at the list of terms used to describe the two styles, provided in Chapter III,[1] tells us little about the actual musical content of each, nor do the few writers who actually described les goûts-réunis.[2] But Morin, Titon, and Cartaud fortunately give some idea of the musical substance of such a union:[3]

	French	Italian
Morin (1706):	Sweetness of melody	Greater variety in accompaniments, Italian tempos and modulations
Titon (1732):	Natural, noble, and graceful melody	Learned, brilliant harmony
Cartaud (1736)	Simplicity	Compositional technique

Thus, the union of French and Italian styles was seen as the joining of natural (diatonic) French melody and simplicity in formal design and harmony with Italian harmonic and formal complexity and compositional technique.[4]

Cartaud's term "compositional technique" no doubt refers to the imitative and/or sequential development so essential to Italian music of the time.

The first goûts-réunis was actually achieved by Lully, despite the fact that he was most often used as an example of a composer of pure French music by 18th century writers. The fact that Lully had achieved a union of the two styles was recognized by some of his contemporaries:

> He [Lully] was born in the country of beauty and he became so well adjusted to our manners, that he created, of the character and spirit of his nation and that of ours, this true blending of the one with the other which pleases, touches, and enraptures.[5]

Eighteenth-century French writers, embroiled in the controversies over the two styles, did not, however, recognize this union in Lully's music. Titon du Tillet, for example, writes that Lully

> . . . is the father of beautiful French music, and he brought it to its perfection, completely abandoning the style of Italian music.[6]

Modern writers agree with le Père Ménestrier regarding the union of styles in Lully's music. Bukofzer notes that Lully finally evolved the air and recit by ". . . transferring the affective pathos and melodic dissonances of the Italian lamento style to the French air and recitative," thus creating a ". . . fusion of styles without which the French opera would not have been possible."[7] James Anthony lists some of the Italian elements in Lully's operas:[8]

1. fugati of the overtures (perhaps a result of Lully's acquaintance with Italian canzona overtures, see Bukofzer, p. 154);

2. imitative ritornellos (". . . for the traditional Italian ensemble of two treble instruments and bass,"[9]);

3. independent comic scenes.

Lully both unites the two styles, as Bukofzer notes above, and contrasts them, placing them side by side. For example, in the Ballet de la Raillerie (1659), Lully ". . . composed an amusing dialogue in which he cleverly contrasted the simple syllabic style of the Italian canzonetta with the subtle turns of the French air."[10] A similar juxtaposition of the two styles is seen in the "Ballet des Nations" from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670), where the fourth and fifth entrées represent the Italian and French styles respectively. In the "Quatrième Entrée: Italiens," Lully offers an Italianate aria full of virtuosic vocal embellishments (Ex. 18). This is clearly contrasted with the simple, syllabic French air from the "Cinquième Entrée" (Ex. 19).

Couperin: Juxtaposition and Fusion

Any study of les goûts-réunis must deal with the music of François Couperin. This should come as no surprise since it was he who coined the term. In Couperin's music, as in the music of Lully, les goûts-réunis means two things: juxtaposition and fusion.

Couperin presented the two styles side by side in many of his chamber works. The clearest example of this is seen in his Les Nations (1726) each of which is an Italian sonata followed by a French suite. In the fourteen concerts of 1722 and 1724, Concerts Royaux and Les Goûts-Réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts, the juxtaposition of the two styles operates on both large and small scales. At one end of the scale, whole concerts

Ex. 18. Lully, "Ballet des Nations," Quatrième Entrée: Italiens

Ahi! che piu gio - va è pia - ce ahi! ahi!
che piu gio - va - è pia - ce Quan - to A - - - - - -
- mor - è piu vi - - - - - va - ce Ahi! che piu gio - va - e
pia - ce Quan - to A - mor è piu vi - va - - - -
1.
- ce!
2.
Ahi! che piu - ce

Ex. 19. Lully, "Ballet des Nations," Cinquième Entrée: François

Premier Poitevin
Ah qu'il fait beau dans ces bo . ca . ges Ah! que le ciel donne un beau jour
Second Poitevin
1. 2.
Le rossi . gnol sous ces tendres feuil . la . ges Chante auxé . cho son doux re . tour . tour
1. 2.
Ce beau sé . jour Ces doux ra . ma . ges Ce beau sé . jour nous in . vite a l'Amour . mour
Ce beau sé . jour Ces doux ra . ma . ges Ce beau sé . jour nous in . vite a l'Amour . mour

illustrate one goût. Number 8,[11] "Dans le goût théatral, " is in the style of Lully, with a typical French ouverture, French titles for all movements ("air tendre," "Loure," "Sarabande," "grave," etc.), and French time signatures (2, 3, 6/4 etc.),[12] while number 14 is an Italian church sonata in four movements, (SFSF), which exhibits Italian violin figuration (see the movement entitled "Fuguête") and imitative textures derived from the trio sonatas of Corelli. Couperin also contrasts the French and Italian styles in whole movements within a concert. An example of this is seen in the second concert where a French dance is followed by an Italian fugal movement, a French air, another Italian fugal movement, and "Echos," a French rondeau.

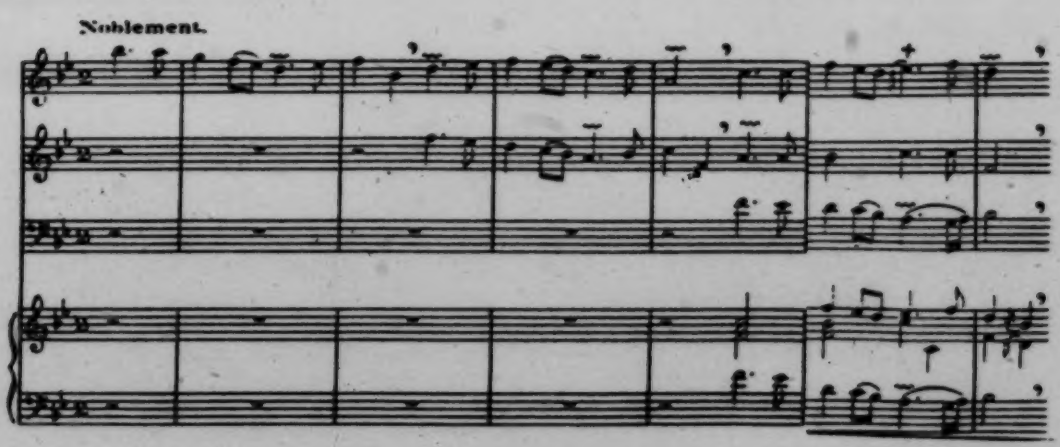
Couperin's juxataposition of the two styles is nowhere more evident than in his Apothéose de Lulli,[13] where an alternation of French and Italian styles is dictated by a program. The first two pieces show Lully in the Champs-Élysés with the lyric shades. This music is clearly in the French style as the following excerpt, a menuet, illustrates (Ex. 20). The third movement, "Vol de Mercure," exhibits Italian vivacité, with rapid running figures in sequential patterns. (Ex. 21). This is followed by the "Descente d'Appollon," which displays characteristic French melodic shapes in an imitative trio sonata texture. (Ex. 22).

Ex. 20. Couperin, "Air pour les mêmes," Apothéose de Lulli

The "Rumeur souteraine" which follows is Italian in essence, with typical Italian violin figurations occupying the dessus. Number 7, the "Enlévement," exhibits Italian imitative texture while number 8, the "Accueil" of Lulli by Corelli, is essentially Italian with the Corellian "walking bass" and Couperin's direction for notes égales, beginning at measure 11, carried through a sequential pattern.[14] Lully's thanks to

Ex. 21. Couperin, "Vol de Mercure," Apothéose de Lulli

Ex. 22. Couperin, "Descente Appollon," Apothéose de Lulli



Apollo, a sarabande, follow. Alternation of the two styles continues in the "Essai en forme d'ouverture."

A summary of this information follows. Note how, in almost every case, Couperin matches the style of the movement with an appropriate French or Italian time signature:

1. French (2)
2. French (3)
3. Italian (6/8)
4. French (2)
5. Italian (2/4)
6. (3)
7. Italian (6/8)
8. Italian (C)
9. French (3/4)

The two styles are clearly juxtaposed in the two airs for two violins which follow the "Essai." In the first of these, Lully plays the melody and is accompanied by Corelli; in the second, their roles are reversed (Ex. 23). Lully's air displays simple, diatonic melody while Corelli accompanies him with Italian violin figuration. When Corelli plays dessus, his tune begins with "affective" intervals, and, in the second half of the air, exhibits the same sort of violin figuration.

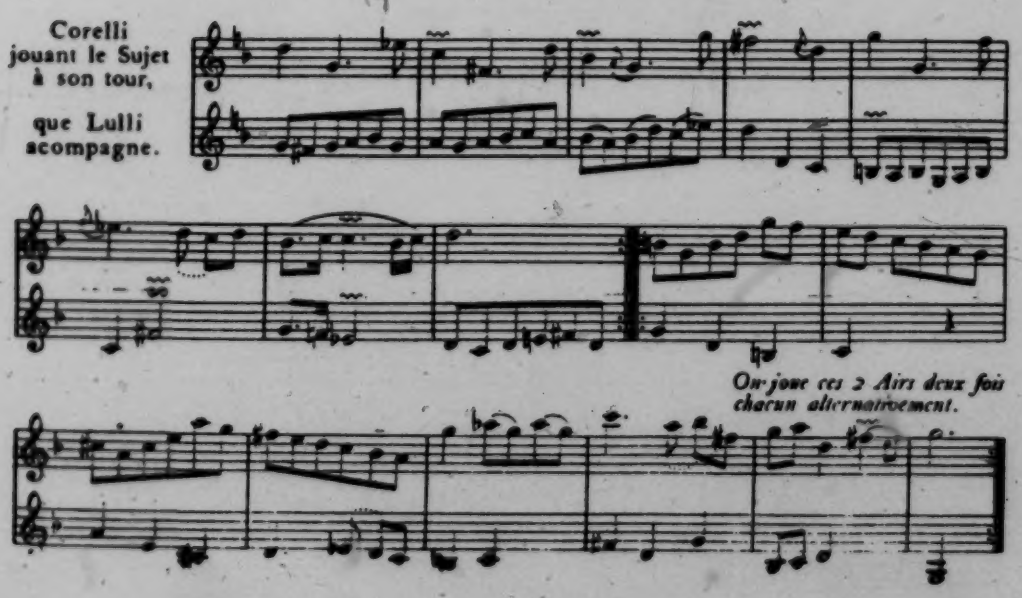
On a smaller scale, the French and Italian styles are contrasted in Couperin's music on the level of phrases and even bars. This is particularly evident in the Apothéose de Lulli, but it is also seen in the concerts. In the "Rondement" movement of the trio sonata with which the Apothéose concludes, French style is succeeded at measure 18 by Italian sequential "walking bass" and suspensions in the upper voices (Ex. 24). Another excellent example of this small scale juxtaposition is seen in the second "Vivement" movement of the final trio sonata, where Italian imitative trio texture is succeeded by French dotted rhythms (Ex. 25).

Ex. 23. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli

Air léger

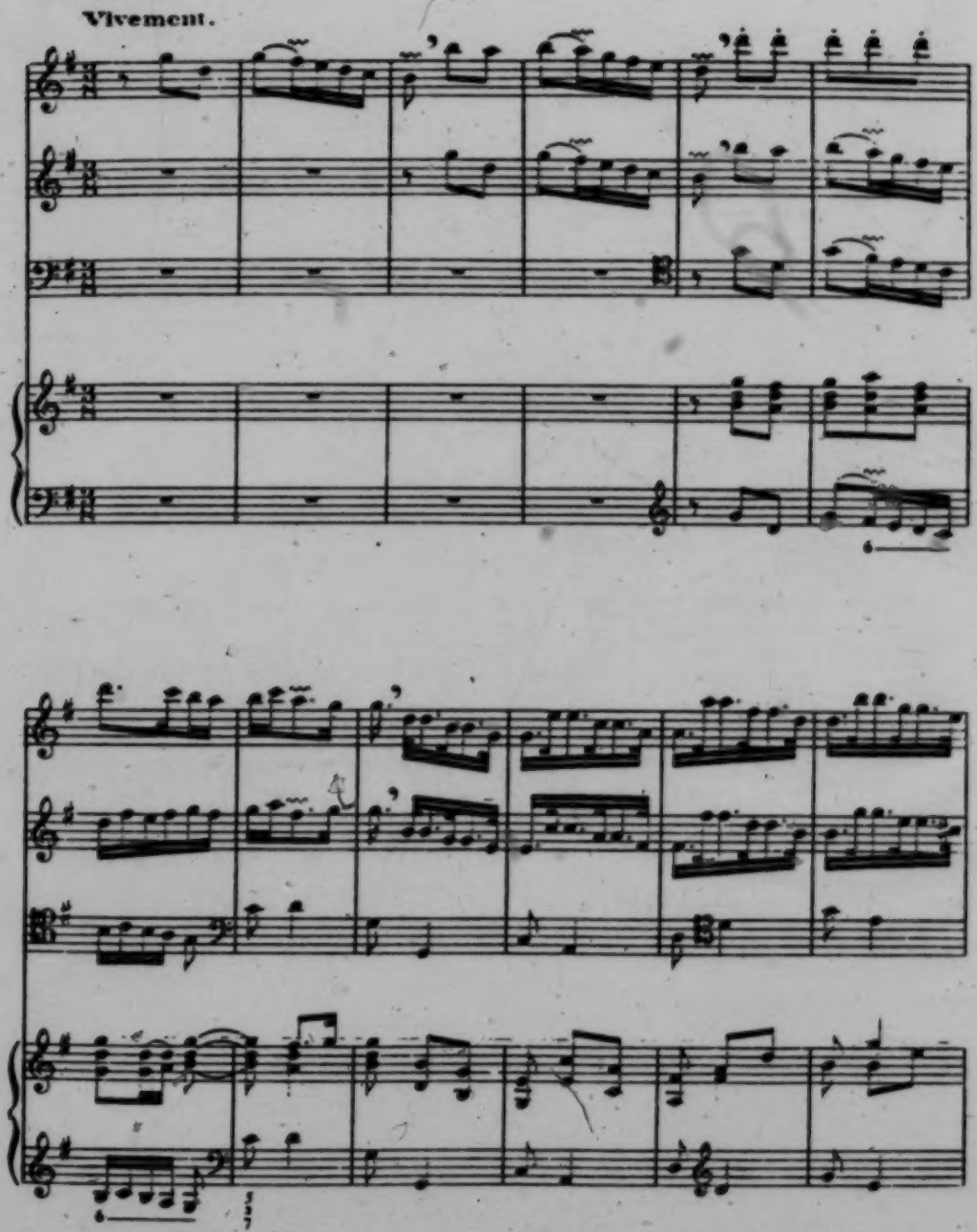
POUR DEUX VIOLONS.

Second Air.



Ex. 24. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Rondement"

Ex. 25. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Vivement"

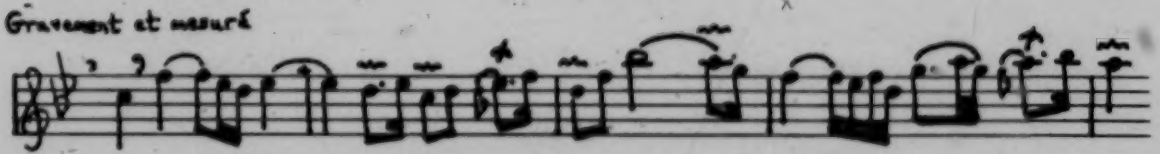


Finally, we note that in the "Essai," French dotted rhythms are followed by Italian triplets.[15]

The second category of goûts-réunis, fusion, is also well represented in the Apothéose de Lulli. We have already noted two occurrences of this fusion, the mixture of French melodic shapes with Italian imitative texture in the "Descente", (see Ex. 3), and the blending of French dotted rhythms with Italian bass in the "Accueil".[16] In the final "Vivement" of the "Sonate en trio," French dotted rhythms are subjected to long sequential manipulation (Ex. 27). In the Air (number 2) we see a French dance melody treated sequentially (Ex. 28a), and subjected to "learned" Italian harmony through suspensions (Ex. 28b). Here then is les goûts-réunis as defined by Titon (see p. 71).

Many examples of this second type of union are seen in the concerts as well. The prelude to number 6, a prelude in the sonata da chiesa style, shows Italian melody tempered by French ornamentation (Ex. 26). And Couperin offers us a "Courante à l'italiêne" (in Concert No. 4)

Ex. 26. Couperin, Prelude to Concert No. 6 of Les Goûts-Réunis

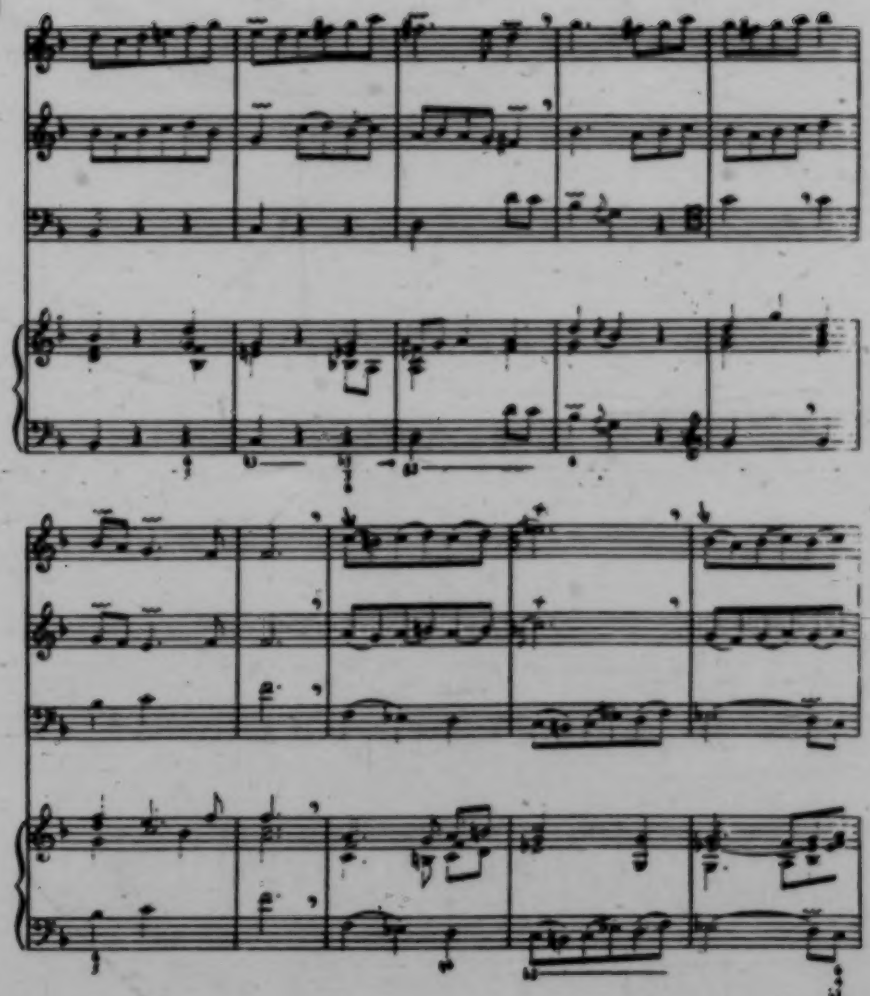


which is an Italian corrente[17] exhibiting a French time signature, "3", French ornamentation (coulés, battements, etc.), and which is even subjected to French performance practice; Couperin writes "pointé-coulé" at the head of the movement, signifying notes inégales. (Ex. 29).

Ex. 27. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Vivement"

Ex. 28. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Air"

a)



b)

Ex. 29. Couperin, Concert No. 4 from Concerts Royaux

"Courante à l'italiéne"

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by

(C)

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ABSTRACT

Les GoÛts-Réunis and Leclair's Concertos

The music of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (1697-1764) has frequently been cited as an example of les goûts-réunis, or the union of French and Italian styles. By examining a number of sources of the 17th and 18th centuries, this thesis shows what le goût français and le goût italien meant to Leclair and his contemporaries in purely musical terms. This knowledge is then applied to Leclair's concertos to show why they were thought in the 18th century, as they are now thought, to represent a union of the two styles. The thesis also examines the idea of the union of French and Italian styles in general, especially in the music of François Couperin (1668-1733), where les goûts-réunis is found to have two aspects, juxtaposition and fusion. In addition, the thesis provides important background for the study of Leclair's music, including a history of violin playing and the concerto in France to Leclair's time, and a study of aesthetics in 18th century France.

PREFACE

Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (1697-1764), occupies a central role in the history of French instrumental music. He is generally considered the father of the French violin school which later flowered with the violinists Bailleux, Cambini, and Rode, and the importance of his work has been emphasized by modern scholars. Marc Pincherle, for example, states that a new era in French music begins with the publication of Leclair's first book of sonatas in 1723[1] and Charles Price considers the publication of Leclair's first book of concertos in 1737 to sound the death knell for a French national style of composition in his dissertation "The Codification and Perseverance of a French National Style of Composition between 1687-1733."[2]

This thesis does not present a biography of Leclair,[3] however, there are a few important points concerning his life which should be enumerated. The first point is that Leclair was born in Lyon and remained there till about 1720. This was a stroke of luck for Lyon was ". . . the natural stopping place en route to the capital [Paris] for maestri from beyond the Alps,"[4] thus Italian music was well known in Lyon. Pincherle says the Academy of Lyon had concertos of Vivaldi in its repertoire as early as 1713 (see below, p. 8). Leclair was employed as a dancer by the Lyon opera in 1717, by which time he had also mastered violin playing and lacemaking.[5] As a musician, Leclair would most likely have been aware of the concerts of the Academy of

Lyon, thus he must have encountered the Vivaldian concerto at an early date.

The second point to note is that Leclair's first artistic successes were as a dancer. After dancing in the Lyon opera in 1717, he was active as a ballet master in Turin in 1722.[6] Leclair's thorough understanding of the French dance style resulting from these experiences contributes much to his music, for French dance forms are an important part of all his music, including his sonatas and concertos.

In 1726 Leclair was again in Turin, this time studying the violin with Giovanni Battista Somis (1686-1763), who had studied with Corelli.[7] From Somis, Leclair learned the Italian violin style.

Finally, Leclair's exposure to Pietro Locatelli (1695-1764), should be noted. In 1728 they played together (see below, p. 95), and Leclair was no doubt inspired by the technical innovations of the Italian virtuoso.

These biographical points explain much of Leclair's music: the large ratio of "Italian" sonatas and concertos in his output, the French dance basis of much of his style, and the virtuosity of his violin writing. Leclair was particularly well equippped to bring about a joining of the French and Italian styles.

The twelve concertos of Leclair are among the highlights of French instrumental music of the 18th century. Appearing in two books of six concertos apiece in 1737 and 1745, these works bring together diverse elements from the French and Italian musical styles, stamped with the highly personal approach of Leclair.

This study of these worthy concertos was undertaken to explore in depth the meaning of <u>les goûts-réunis</u>. While much of the background

material has been covered before (the history of violin playing in France and 18th century French musical aesthetics), the actual musical meaning of les goûts-réunis has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly explored. The enumeration of specific French and Italian musical practices according to 17th and 18th century sources is new, and it is hoped that their application to Leclair's concertos will promote a better understanding of these works, and a basis for approaching the works of other composers of the 18th century.

Among the many sources used in the preparation of this thesis, Neal Zaslaw's dissertation "Materials for the Life and Works of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné" deserves special mention.[8] In this dissertation Zaslaw has collected all the known references to Leclair for the period 1697 - 1798 thus providing an invaluable tool for the study of Leclair's music.

There are many people who helped me in the preparation of this thesis and to whom I would like to express my gratitude: Dr. Brian Harris, who helped in the early stages of this work; Jim Whittle, who helped me obtain microfilm and scores of Leclair's concertos; the Interlibrary Loans branch of the University of Alberta Library, which obtained a large number of books, articles, and microfilms without which this thesis would not have been possible; Gerri Moore for her patience and skill in typing this thesis; Dr. Nicole Mallet, for helpful suggestions with the translations; the Aston Magna Academies of 1982 and 1983, which broadened my view of the period in question; Jaap Schröder, who offered helpful suggestions and kindly read parts of this work; Neal Zaslaw, who unstintingly offered answers and questions, and bibliographical suggestions in conversation and correspondence; Dr. Alfred Fisher, who has made my stay here at the University of Alberta both instructive and agréable,

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NOTES

1. Marc Pincherle, La Technique du Violon chez les premiers Sonatistes français (Paris, 1911), repr. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), p. 2.

2. Charles G. Price, "The Codification and Perseverance of a French National Style of Composition between 1687-1733: Montéclair's Sérénade ou Concert, 1697," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1973), pp. 21-22.

3. Extensive biographies of Leclair are found in Lionel de la Laurencie, L'Ecole française de Violon: de Lully à Viotti (3 vols., 1922-24), repr. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1971), pp. 269-314; and Marc Pincherle, Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné, (Paris: La Colombe, 1952), pp. 17-50. See also the documentary biography in Neal Zaslaw's dissertation "Materials for the Life and Works of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1970), pp. 9-208.

4. Marc Pincherle, Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque, translated by Christopher Hatch, (New York: Norton, 1957), p. 250.

5. Neal Zaslaw, "Jean-Marie Leclair," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, (London: MacMillan, 1980), vol. 10, p. 589.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. See note 3.

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CHAPTER I

THE VIOLIN IN FRANCE

The violin was generally considered an inferior instrument, suitable only for dance and outdoor music, during the 16th and 17th centuries in France. As early as 1556 Jambe-de-Fer echoed this feeling:

> We call viols those with which gentlemen, merchants, and other virtuous men entertain themselves. . . . The other kind is called violin, and it is this which is commonly used for the dance and for good reason. . . few people play it except those who earn their living by playing it.[1]

This idea, the suitability of the violin for dance music, continued in France for a long time. Both Mersenne (1636) and Brossard (1705) repeat it:

> . . . this instrument is the most appropriate of all for the dance.[2]

> This instrument has a naturally very bright and merry sound which makes it most appropriate for enlivening the steps of the dance.[3]

The quote from Jambe-de-Fer above also reveals something of the social standing of the instrument and its players, (no true gentleman would ever stoop so low as to work for a living). The violin had long been associated in France with the ménétriers, roving musicians who often subsisted on playing in taverns and who occupied a very low social rank. They registered with the Provost of Paris to form a guild in 1321[4] and were barred from the city of Paris by Philippe Auguste during the first year of his reign because of their libertinage.[5]

In fact, the stigmata surrounding the violin and its players persisted well into the 18th century. Eventually the word violon came to have, as a secondary meaning, the value of an insult:

> Violin is also a term of abuse and scorn which means fool, impertinent fellow. To consider a man a Violon is as if one were to place him in the ranks of the Ménéstriers who go from cabaret to cabaret playing a violin and increasing the pleasure of the drunkards.[6]

Violinists found a more comfortable existence in the Royal service. The word viollon is first found in French archives in the year 1529 and from 1533, the violin is frequently mentioned in conjunction with the King.[7] Although the Twenty-Four violins were officially established in 1626 by Louis XIII, it is evident that a royal band including violins had existed for nearly 100 years already.

In the 16th century the violins, along with oboes, sackbuts, trumpets etc., formed the Ecurie. As such they were used in the performance of outdoor music and performed only in ensembles, (more than one to a part). It was not till near the end of the 17th century that the violin began to have a solo repertoire in France. The "noble" instruments, lute, viol and harpsichord, were reserved for chamber music, while the violin was restricted to dance and outdoor music. This arbitrary division ". . . inevitably contributed to the slowness of the French to develop a technique of violin playing comparable to that of the Italians,"[8] who early recognized the potential of the instrument.

The different role accorded to the violin and the "noble" instruments was reflected in the ballet de cour as well. In these courtly entertainments, the lute and viol were entrusted with accompaniment of the voices and the playing of intermèdes symphoniques; the violin was allowed to play only the dances.[9]

Violinists in the Royal service were considered inferior to lutenists, violists, and claveçinistes, a fact which is reflected in their earnings. Where an organist in the chapel received 600 livres per year (Benoit, p. 191),[10] a claveçiniste in the Chambre 900 livres per year (Benoit, p. 198), and a violiste up to 1200 livres per year (Benoit, p. 201), a member of the Twenty-Four Violins received a mere 365 livres per year, (Benoit, p. 203). Still, they were better off than the ménétriers, ". . . deprived of such patronage, subjected to very strict police regulations, paid poorly or not at all, obliged to band together to travel the highways in search of some occasion for the exercise of their trade."[11] While looked down upon at court, their position had acquired something of status in Paris.[12]

Important changes in the social standing of the instrument came with the influx of the sonata in the late 17th century. However, the first victories for the violin in France were won by Lully. As Benoit outlines it, Louis XIV gave the first victory to the violin by giving Lully the highest honours at court including nobility; the second victory came with the violin's entry into the Chapel, proving the instrument capable of more than dance music. Then, according to Benoit, the public began to tire of the esoteric style of the violistes and, finally, the sonata and concerto triumphed in the 18th century.[13] In addition, we should note the importance of Lully allowing the violin to accompany the voice in the comédies-ballets and tragédies-lyriques he wrote in conjunction with Molière and Quinault.

But it was certainly the sonata which played the most important role in the change of the violin's social standing around 1700. During Lully's "reign," Italian music had been suppressed in France. With the death of

Lully, and with Louis XIV taking a less active role in the music and dance of the court,[14] the doors were once again opened to Italian music.[15]

Oddly enough, it may have been a German who first introduced the sonata in France. In 1682 the German violinist Johann Paul Westhoff played a solo violin sonata and a suite for Louis XIV. These works were printed in Mercure in December, 1682 and January, 1683.[16] The first sonata written in France by a Frenchman may be the Sonata for eight instruments by Marc-Antoine Charpentier, which dates from around 1686.[17] Although James Anthony disputes the authenticity of this work,[18] Julie Anne Sadie offers convincing evidence that it is Charpentier's.

In 1692 François Couperin composed the trio sonatas which were eventually incorporated into Les Nations in 1724.[19] Brossard, de la Guerre, and Rebel produced sonatas in 1695 and Brossard tells us something of the situation at that time: ". . . all the composers of Paris had, at that time, a passion for composing sonatas in the Italian style."[20] The first French sonatas to be published were those of Duval in 1704.[21] The cultivation and knowledge of this new repertoire came to have a certain snob appeal, as Lecerf noted:

> What joy, what a good opinion a man has of himself who knows something of the fifth opus of Corelli.[22]

Italian music was disseminated in France in the late 17th century through private concerts.[23] An important series was that of l'Abbé Mathieu, curé of Saint-André-des-Arts in Paris. Italian music was performed at his home and it was here that ". . . the trios of Corelli, printed in Rome, appeared for the first time."[24] Daval says Couperin heard the sonatas of Corelli for the first time at Mathieu's concerts.[25] Later, the

Concert Italien,(established 1724), and Concert Spirituel, (established 1725), became important disseminators of Italian music (these will be discussed below).

While there was a great deal of resistance to the sonata, (see Chapter II below), it continued to grow in popularity. As Zaslaw notes, between the time of Couperin's first sonatas (1692) and the appearance of Leclair's first book of sonatas (1723) no less than 31 books of violin sonatas by French composers were published, to say nothing of manuscript copies and foreign works circulating.[26]

It should come as no surprise then that the violin finally threw off the social stigmata which had accompanied it for nearly 200 years. The ultra conservative Lecerf himself recognized this change:

> This instrument is not considered noble in France . . . one finds few persons of rank who play it . . . but, after all, a gentleman who ventures to play it does not demean himself.[27]

Further evidence of the acceptance of the violin is seen in the Mercure of June, 1738 where it is noted that the violin is now cultivated by "gentlemen of the highest rank."[28]

Another evidence of the increasing popularity and acceptance of the violin is the appearance in France of instruction manuals on the violin for amateurs. As Boyden notes:

> By 1700 the violin had become relatively respectable. It had ceased to be the exclusive property of a professional class of servant-musicians, and was now being played by amateurs in sufficient numbers to inspire a theoretical literature for their instruction.[29]

The appearance of violin tutors by Brossard, Montéclair, Dupont and Corrette[30] attests to this same "arrival" of the violin in France.

Finally, the increasing importance of the violin and violinists is reflected in the payment given to Leclair and Guignon in the Royal service in 1734, when each received 1500 livres per quarter (as compared with a Royal violinist receiving 365 livres per year in the 17th century; see above, p. 3).[31]

This, then, is the atmosphere which prevailed at the time when Leclair's concertos first appeared. The violin had become a respectable instrument, suitable for serious music, and the favored solo instrument at the Concert Spirituel.[32] The relative merits of virtuoso violinists, such as Leclair and Guignon, were discussed endlessly by the public (see Chapter IV, pp. 98-99) and French violin music saw its first flowering.

The Concerto in France Before Leclair

While the sonata and cantata[33] were rather quickly accepted and emulated by the French, the concerto took much longer. French sonatas and cantatas had already appeared by the 1680's but it is not until 1727 that the first works bearing the title "concerto" appear. While Bukofzer attributes this delay to the "deeply ingrained conservatism" of French composers,[34] there are other factors which contributed to French reticence towards the concerto. Certainly, French chauvinism, which had grown in the 17th century under Colbert's policies and been focused by the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns (See Chapter II below) contributed to their reluctance.

In addition, the French had a peculiar distaste for virtuosity in and of itself. This attitude is described in the preface to Aubert's Concert de simphonies pour les violons, flûtes, et hautbois (1730):

> Although Italian concertos have had some success for many years in France . . . it can still be noted that this sort of music is not to everyone's taste in spite of the competence on the part of some of those who perform it. . . . Moreover, most young people, believing themselves technically proficient enough to perform the extraordinarily difficult passages found in nearly all these works, lose the gracefulness, clarity and beautiful simplicity of French taste. . . .[35]

French simplicity and "grace" are opposed to Italian "difficulty."

The same attitude is reflected in the Mercure de France eight years later where, on the subject of the concerto, we find:

> There are certainly some very beautiful ones, but they have given our youth the taste for noise and great uproar and thereby one certainly loses delicacy, elegance, and feeling.[36]

The pursuit of virtuosity is associated with the young in both quotes above. No doubt there was something of a "generation gap" at this time in France, the younger generation of musicians being largely responsible for the invasion of Italian music, while older, more conservative players tried to maintain the French tradition.[37]

Like the sonata before it, the concerto was promoted in France by private patrons. Pierre Crozat[38] and the Marquise de Prie both encouraged Italian music in Paris and together formed the Concert Italien, (see below). The duc d'Orléans, Regent of France from 1715-1724, had a pronounced taste for Italian music[39] and employed Italian musicians, some of whom exercised important influence on the French musical world (for example, Battistin Stuck and Michele Mascitti[40]). The duc de Bourbon also encouraged Italian music.[41]

Other venues for the concerto include the Académie des Beaux-Arts of Lyon and the court in exile of the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Emanuel.

Pincherle says that as early as 1713 the academy in Lyon included concertos of Vivaldi in its repertoire.[42] Dean states that it may actually have been at the court of Maximilian Emanuel, exiled in France from 1705-1714, that concertos were heard in France for the first time. The composer Evaristo Dall'Abaco, while serving Emanuel, had his Op. 2 concertos published in Amsterdam in 1712. As Dean notes, these concertos may have been played at Emanuel's court during the period of 1712-1714 and thus would qualify as being among the first concertos heard in France.[43] If so, they might have been known in Paris for Parisian musicians, including Desmaret and Anet, served Emanuel for varying periods at this time.[44]

The concerto was in fact known in France rather earlier than the dates provided above by Pincherle and Dean. On the inside front cover of Jean Rousseau's Méthode claire . . .[45] (fifth edition, published before 1707)[46] the publisher Mortier advertises works of Corelli, Torelli, Marini, Albinoni and others, including Albinoni's Op. 5 concertos. Also, Lecerf de la Viéville states that Parisian organists were transcribing Italian concertos for the organ as early as 1705.[47]

The most important role in the dissemination of the concerto in France must be accorded to the Concert Spirituel. Formed in 1725 by Anne-Danican Philidor, the first concert of this series on March 18, 1725 included, in addition to music by Delalande, Corelli's "Christmas Concerto", op. 6, no. 8.[48] Philidor resigned in 1728 and under new administration

> . . . the complexion of the concerts changed somewhat. Italian performers and compositions were much in vogue and instrumental music began to achieve a significance [at the Concert Spirituel] that would contribute substantially to the development of the sonata and concerto in France.[49]

By the early 1730's, each program contained at least one sonata or concerto.[50] The Concert Spirituel soon acquired an international reputation and composers and performers all over Europe came to look upon it as an especially important proving ground. Thus musicians of the calibre of Somis and Stamitz were drawn to Paris, thereby providing models for French composers.[51]

Another important series was the Concert Italien, established in 1724. At these concerts the orchestra was made up mostly of Italian players and only Italian music was performed.[52]

The French concertists seem to have identified mostly with the Vivaldian concerto. Around the turn of the century Corelli's sonatas were, as we have noted, very influential. But aside from the concerti grossi of the Neapolitan Michele Mascitti, (1727), French concertos of this time mostly follow the Vivaldian rather than the Corellian concerto form (in other words, the three movement solo concerto form as opposed to the multi-movement concerto grosso form). Pincherle notes that Vivaldi's Op. 3 and Op. 8 sets were most esteemed and that in France between 1715 and 1750 ". . . there was not only a craze, but nearly a cult, as regards Vivaldi.[53]

It is difficult to date the beginnings of the concerto in France. One reason for this difficulty lies in the terminology itself. In the first half of the 18th century the French used the terms sonata, suite, concerto, and symphony indiscriminately.[54] Another difficulty lies in the establishment of a definite chronology. Manuscript copies of concertos existed sometimes for years before publication and it is in most cases impossible to date them. We know, for example, that Guignon had composed a violin concerto of his own by 1730, for his performance of it

before the queen is noted in the Mercure de France of that year.[55] Leclair may have performed his own concertos as early as 1728.[56]

The problem is further compounded by lack of dates on published works as well. Naudot's op. 11, for example, which Brofsky says contains six "full-fledged solo concertos," can be dated only as being pre-1737, when they were listed in Leclerc's Catalogue général de musique imprimée ou gravée en France (1737).[57]

Another problem is encountered when we read desciptions of the concertos by modern scholars for they often disagree on even the most basic things. For example, while Brofsky claims that the lack of ripieno in Boismortier's Op. 15 concertos illustrates ". . . the equivocal use of the term [concerto] at this time," Anthony notes that " . . . much of the time the music is organized in alternating solo and tutti groups."[58] When it comes to describing the form of these works, the differences are even more pronounced (see below, p. 12).

With these difficulties in mind, a chronological history of the concerto in France, based on published works, is presented here, but it cannot be considered definitive until more research is done in this area.[59]

1727

Michele Mascitti: Sonate a Violino Solo, e Basso e Quattro Concerti a Sei.[60] (Op. 7)

The four concertos which conclude this collection are concerti grossi in the tradition of Corelli, having a concertino of two violins and one cello, but having only one violin in the ripieno. Two of the concertos are in five movements, (Op. 7/9 and Op. 7/11), one is in four movements, (Op. 7/10), and one is in two movements, the final movement being an extended passacaglia variata (Op. 7/12). Many of the fast movements are in binary form; as Dean notes, Mascitti does not use ritornello form in

these works.[61] Finally, Laurencie's statement that Mascitti does not exploit opposition effects between concertino and ripieno[62] does not hold up under an examination of the music by this writer. The following example shows one characteristic use of such opposition effects -- there are many others in these concertos (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1. Mascitti, Op. 7/9/iii.

Boismortier: VI Concertos pour 5 FlÛtes-Traversieres ou autres Instrumens sans Basse (Op. 15)

In the same year, (1727), Joseph Bodin de Boismortier published these works, the first to introduce the three-movement concerto form in France.[63] The six concertos are all in three movements but the order of movements seems a mystery.[64] Of three concertos from this set seen by this author, two are slow-fast-fast, or SFF, (numbers 1 and 3), and one is FSF (number 2). Both Pincherle and Anthony state that the themes of these concertos are mostly in the French style,[65] but this too is somewhat misleading. The following example illustrates some of the Italianate themes found in these works (Ex. 2). Frequent unison passages and the use of ritornello form[66] betray the influence of Vivaldi.

Ex. 2. Boismortier, Op. 15/2/i

a) Allegro

Boismortier, Op. 15/3/ii

b) Allegro

1728

Michel Corrette: VI Concertos pour les Flutes, Violons, ou Hautbois avec la Basse Chiffrée pour le Clavecin, Op. 3.

On these concertos James Anthony writes:

> These may rightfully be considered the first concertos in France written by a native Frenchman that conform to the typical features of the Italian concerto.[67]

All six concertos of this set are FSF. Three of them, (numbers 1, 3, and 5), are for two flutes and violoncello obbligato; the others, (numbers 2, 4, and 6), are for three flutes and cello. The two types of instrumentation are paralleled by two different musical approaches. The concertos for two flutes show predominantly binary form movements and little emphasis on a solo instrument. They are Corellian in the frequent alternation of ripieno and concertino texture. The concertos for three flutes are of a different nature, using ritornello form and other typical solo concerto devices, such as unison passages, as well as showing more emphasis on a solo instrument (the first flute).

1729

Boismortier: Cinq sonates pour le violoncelle, viole, ou basson, avec la basse chiffrée, suivies d'un concerto pour l'un ou l'autre de ces instrumens (Op. 26).

The final work of this set represents the first published solo concerto in France.[68] This concerto is in three movements (Allegro, Largo, Allegro). The outer movements are in ritornello form with solo and tutti materials clearly delineated. All the ritornellos occur in the tonic key (D Major), with modulation confined to the solos. The middle movement is in the dotted rhythm overture style of the French. On this work Brofsky writes, ". . . obviously a primitive conception underlies a

concerto 'for one or the other of these instruments,' "[69] perhaps thinking that idiomatic writing is essential to the solo concerto idea. This is of course true, but Brofsky's statement is unacceptable for two reasons. The first is that Boismortier composed the work specifically for the cello[70] and the solo part works well on the instrument (it plays less easily on the viol). In addition, the types of figuration for the solo instrument are typical of many Italian concertos (Ex. 3). Secondly, the "for one or the other of these instruments" merely reflects a practical consideration for it expands Boismortier's possible market. Vivaldi's Op. 8/9 and Op. 8/12, and Leclair's Op. 7/3 are similarly suitable for more than one instrument but they cannot be judged "primitive" for this reason.[71]

1734

Aubert: Concerto à quatre violons, violoncelle, et Basse continue (Op. 17)

The six concertos of this set constitute the first solo violin concertos published in France. These works are all in three movements and all follow the FSF plan.[72] Each of the concertos features a solo violin but some of the movements show elements of the concerto grosso style as well. An example of this is seen in the first movement of the first concerto where the initial tutti is followed by eight bars of music for a typical concertino group (two violins and cello--Ex. 4a). A tutti interjection after this is followed by solo violin figuration (Ex. 4b). A similar mixture of concerto grosso and solo concerto is seen in the first movement of the sixth concerto of this set as well.

The third movement of Op. 17/6 is very clearly a solo violin concerto movement, with a series of ritornellos following the usual

Ex. 3. Boismortier, Op. 26/6/i

CONCERTO.

Ex. 4. Aubert, Op. 17/1/i

a) Allegro

b) Allegro

modulatory plan (i-III-v-i) and solo violin featured throughout. This movement even has a cadenza for the soloist (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5. Aubert, Op. 17/6/iii

1737

Leclair: Six Concerto a tré violini, alto, e basso . . . .

The above survey has omitted a host of wind concertos published by Boismortier between the 1727 set listed above and the concertos of Leclair (1737)[73] for it is only essential to note the major events: the first concertos composed and published in France (Mascitti, 1727); the first concertos published by a Frenchman and in three movements (Boismortier, 1727); the first string concertos (Corrette, 1728); the first solo concerto (Boismortier, 1729); and the first solo violin concertos Aubert 1734-35). The numerous concertos comiques for flutes, oboes, musettes etc. by Corrette have also been omitted.[74]

But it must be noted that, as Paillard says "the winds, not the violin, introduced the concerto form to France."[75] By the time of Aubert's solo violin concertos more than fifty compositions for winds bearing the title "concerto" had already been published in France.[76]

With the appearance of Leclair's concertos in 1737, the concerto form becomes fully established in France, an event in which Leclair played an important role, as Saint-Foix notes:

> . . . a personality as outstanding as that of J.M. Leclair contributed, to a large extent, to the success of the concerto.[77]

CHAPTER II

LES GOUTS-REUNIS

In this chapter we will examine French musical aesthetics of the 17th and 18th centuries and investigate the French-Italian musical controversy of the first half of the 18th century. Out of this quarrel grew the idea of a union of two styles which would result in the perfection of music and which was realized in the music of Leclair. This union may conveniently be called les goût-réunis.[1]

French fascination with Italian culture can be traced back to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494.[2] Nobles returning to France brought back with them a taste for Italian lifestyles and arts. Italian influence remained strong in France throughout the 16th and through much of the 17th centuries. The marriage of Henry II to Catherine de Medici in 1533 and the power she had over her son, Charles IX, during his minority greatly strengthened Italian influence at court.[3] This influence continued with the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Medici (in 1594) who also held power, along with Richelieu, during the minority of her son, Louis XIII. The deaths of Richelieu (1642) and Louis XIII (1643), brought the Italian Giulio Mazarini to power and the importing of Italian writers, actors, artists and musicians continued until his death in 1661.

Awareness of differences in literary style of the two nations appeared in France early in the 16th century. Lemaire de Belges' poem La Concorde des deux langages, (Paris, 1513), is an early work comparing the two manners of expression.[4] In two parts, "The Temple of Venus," imitating Petrarch's tercets, and "The Temple of Minerva," in French

alexandrins, the work concludes by calling for an end to strife and ". . . mutual appreciation for the other's merits."[5]

An awareness of the differences in musical style of the two nations is not seen till the 17th century and the writings of Doni, Mersenne, and Maugurs. Giovanni Battista Doni, (1594-1657), criticized French music for its excessive restraint and apparently provided much of Mersenne's information on the Italian style.[6] Mersenne contrasts tranquil French music with fiery Italian music in a manner which becomes common in the 18th century.[7] Maugurs also criticizes French restraint[8] and contrasts many aspects of the two styles.[9] Following the writings of these men, there was a ". . . gradually increasing awareness of rival styles . . ."[10] in the 17th century in France.

While Mersenne and Maugurs were receptive to Italian music, many others in France were not. The ". . . first real anti-Italianism"[11] in France was the civil war known as the Fronde (1648-53).[12] The enormous expense of Italian operas mounted by Mazarin was a focal point (a rallying call) for this revolution.

When Louis XIV took control of the country in 1661 an era of unrivalled centralization of power and nationalization began. A concurrent rise of national pride was no doubt responsible for the success of Perrin and Cambert's Pastorale d'Issy (1659). Perrin explained this success as a result of ". . . the passion to see our language, our poetry, and our music triumph over a foreign poetry and language."[13] As Bukofzer notes:

> These vainglorious nationalistic feelings were nurtured by Colbert who, in keeping with his theories of mercantilism and national self-sufficiency, also promoted the idea of spiritual autarchy.[14]

The conscious formulation of a French style by Lully in his ballets and operas is no doubt partially a result of this nationalistic pride.

The year 1661 also saw the publication of ". . . the first extended pro-French comparison of French and Italian music,"[15] Pierre Perrin's "Lettre écrite à Monsieur l'archevesque de Turin," which was very critical of Italian opera.[16] The first half of the 18th century would see the publication of many such pro-French comparisons of the two styles.

French musical aesthetics of the 18th century represent but one facet of a unified French theory of the arts. This doctrine, based on reason and the imitation of nature, originated in literary criticism in the 17th century and derives ultimately from Aristotle's aesthetic theories. In the 17th century Jean Chapelain and Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac introduced to France ". . . the critical concepts and aesthetic theories of the Italian commentators on Aristotle," and through them, ". . . Aristotelian aesthetic theories became central to French classicism."[17] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux ". . . codified the doctrine of reason, clarity and Aristotelian imitation propounded by his predecessors," Chapelain and Balzac.[18] Two lines from Boileau's L'Art Poëtique (1674) will perhaps suffice to make clear his position:

> Love Reason then, that all your writings take from
> her alone their distinction and their value.[19]

La raison was the goal; strict observation of the rules and the imitation of nature were the means.[20] The imitation of nature was a central idea in French aesthetics. As Maniates notes, Aristotle's theory of imitation refers originally to the aural arts:

> (Poetry, drama, and music). . . all happen to be, on
> the whole, imitations. . . . (Poetics, I, 15-16)[21]

This theory was extended by French writers to include all the arts, visual as well as aural.

The word "nature", as used by 17th and 18th century musical theorists, has essentially two aspects: la nature physique, or the sounds of the world around us, and la nature morale, or the emotional states of man (the passions).[22] Both of these aspects are ruled over by the concept of belle nature, which means, essentially, nature which is worthy of treating, or worthy of recognition.[23]

Imitation of la nature physique could be the most basic kind of literal representation advocated by Bacilly:

> . . . one finds unacceptable an air in which the author has neglected to place high notes on words which designate high things, such as the sky, the stars, or low notes on the words earth, ocean, fountain; in this way, one thinks the melody is poorly applied to the words if it does not express the sense of each word in particular.[24]

Imitation of la nature morale was more difficult to define. Eventually, French theorists had to admit that this idea, far from the objective fact they envisioned, was actually a very personal and subjective thing:

> . . . we would not enjoy a work if it was not consistent with that which is judged natural by the human heart. . . . I will gladly admire an author provided he often remains within my sphere. . . my own standard is that which I am pleased to call natural.[25]

As Ecorcheville notes, it is not la nature (nature), but notre nature (our nature).[26] No wonder so many critics of the period give la nature a different meaning.

One aspect of the French theory of imitation in the arts was the creation of a strict hierarchy in those arts. Literature was highest in this hierarchy, followed by the visual arts and, finally, music.[27] The arts were ranked according to their inherent ability to imitate nature:

> Music rests on a slightly lower level than poetry because its imitation of emotion is less natural and <u>specific</u> than that of [poetry]. . . .[28] (my emphasis)

Because music is not as specific as poetry, it must be joined to poetry:

> 1. . . . words can give music concreteness of emotional association and meaning which alone it cannot possess
> 2. in order for music to approach the most natural manner of imitating passions, it must imitate declamation.[29]

Thus, a hierarchy exists within music itself, with instrumental music lying below vocal music. This is one reason why the French found it so difficult to accept Italian sonatas and concertos, which ". . . did not even ask them to imagine the theatre,"[30] let alone a textual accompaniment. As Lecerf says,

> Instrumental music is the least important part of music. . . .the first and most essential is that of the singer.[31]

Pluche clearly describes the French position:

> It is difficult to apply ourselves when no thought arrests us, and sounds are scarcely separate from the word which gives them sense. The most beautiful melody, when it is only instrumental, becomes necessarily cold, then dull, because it expresses nothing. . . .Sonatas are music in the same way as marbled paper is painting.[32]

Opera, then, was seen as ". . . le grand chef-d'oeuvre de la Musique,"[33] while instrumental music was suitable perhaps for "decorating" an evening of conversation or a meal.[34] But instrumental music was still subject to the same inflexible doctrine of imitation. This is perhaps one reason why so many of the pièces of the claveçinistes and violistes carried titles; to have meaning they would have to be associated with a person, object, or idea.

The idea of the inferiority of instrumental music persisted well into the 18th century. D'Alembert writes in 1760:

> It must be admitted that, in general, one does not feel the full power of music unless it is linked to words or to dances.[35]

As late as 1779, Le Pileur d'Apligny still asserts the supremacy of vocal music over instrumental:

> It is not enough for the musician to understand perfectly the rules of melody and harmony; if nature did not make him a poet at birth, he will never be capable of more than writing good concertos.[36]

In the second half of the 18th century, some writers, (for example, Boyé and Chabanon), do ". . . recognize that musical meaning must be liberated from the arbitrary demands of imitative aesthetics. . . ."[37] Also, throughout the 18th century we find writers who attribute some power to instrumental music.[38] Nonetheless, the mainstream of aesthetics concerning instrumental music is that which has just been described.

But while the theorists placed instrumental music on a decidedly lower level than opera, there can be little doubt that in the first half of the 18th century there grew a taste for music in and of itself:

> Music is no longer considered only as the enjoyable complement to a performance; it is enjoyed for itself, and although its seriousness is augmented principally when it is associated with a dramatic presentation, it is nevertheless appreciated, and more and more each day, for the pleasure it can bring to social life. . . .[39]

There is no better proof of the growing importance and popularity of instrumental music than the great success of the Concert Spirituel.

The doctrine of imitation lies at the very root of the French-Italian controversies of the 18th century.[40] The French could not understand music which appealed totally to the senses. For them, music, like all the arts, had to have a goal, the imitation of nature, which was realized through association with words or ideas and based on a vocal style.[41] Italian sonatas and concertos clearly did not strive to imitate nature because they were not associated with words or ideas, (see Pluche quote above, p. 23), and were, essentially, in a non-vocal style.

A second aspect of the French objection to Italian music was the French concept of le goût or bon sens. Bon sens dictates moderation and emotional restraint, thus the French abhorrence of what was perceived as Italian excess:[42]

> True beauty is in moderation. . . .Too little decoration is nudity; that is a fault. Too much decoration is confusion; that is a vice. . . .[43]

> One appreciates the true beauty of the attire only as much as it exhibits reserve, distinction, and, especially, propriety.[44]

The French-Italian controversy raged on through most of the 18th century, but there were four major querelles during that time:

1.) Raguenet-Lecerf (1702-07);

2.) Ramistes-Lullistes - begins with the presentation in 1733 of Rameau's first opera, Hippolyte et Aricie. Rameau was perceived to have "italianized" French opera;

3.) Querelle des Bouffons - follows the presentation of Pergolesi's La Serva Padrona on August 1, 1752;[45]

4.) Gluckistes - Piccinistes (1770's).

In all of these, opera was the focal point; nonetheless, many of the principles which arose from these controversies are equally applicable to instrumental music.[46]

The Raguenet-Lecerf querelle began with the publication in 1702 of François Raguenet's Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra.[47] While Raguenet's aim was to objectively compare the French and Italian styles, he reveals himself to be pro-modern (in other words, pro-Italian) by the title of his work, which paraphrases Charles Perrault's Parallèle des anciens et modernes,[48] and he clearly favors Italian music.

In 1704, Lecerf de la Viéville published a reply to Raguenet's Parallèle . . . the Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française, a series of arguments countering Raguenet's claims. Lecerf approves "natural" French music and criticizes "affected" Italian music. As Cowart notes, Lecerf's creed ". . . is based on the literary theory of the 17th-century classical critics, especially Bouhours and Boileau, who attack Italian literature for its artificiality and affectation. . . ."[49] Lecerf merely equates Italian music with Italian literature, therefore the same criticisms apply.

A detailed account of the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle is unnecessary, since it has been so frequently documented and discussed.[50] The writings of Raguenet and Lecerf were reviewed and discussed in the contemporary periodicals Journal des Savants and Memoires de Trévoux and were thus undoubtedly well known. In fact, the musical querelles of the 18th century were of interest to many:

> . . . philosophers, literary people, scientists, wits, the city and the court, artistocratic and bourgeois salons; everyone concerns himself with music, is interested in it, becomes passionate about it. . . .[51]

But while the quarrels over French and Italian music were well known, Italian music itself was not. The French based their opinions on a very small amount of Italian music. This was noted by Charles de Brosses in his Lettres familières (1739-40):

> In Paris, we hear pretty Italian minuets, or great airs full of roulades; then, after paying tribute to the beauty of the harmony and melody, we assert that Italian music knows only how to play on syllables, and that it lacks the expression which characterises sentiment. That is not the case at all. . . .[52]

De Brosses then states that it is actually the most simple and touching moments of Italian operas which are most admired in Italy, but the French singers never perform these.

There are two important ways of viewing the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle. The first is to see this controversy as essentially a continuation of the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes of the 17th century:

> Rightly understood, the controversy between Raguenet and Freneuse [Lecerf] is not so much concerned with the rival claims of French and Italian music as with those of a 'classic' and a 'modern' style. As such it is simply a part of the larger quarrel between the ancients and moderns, begun in France by Boileau, Fontenelle, and the brothers Charles and Claude Perrault. . . .[53]

The quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns in France is frequently dated from 1687, the year of Charles Perrault's poem Le Siècle de Louis le Grand.[54] The quarrel came about

> . . . as pride in modern progress and national identity began to conflict with a long unchallenged belief in the superiority of the art, literature, and philosophy of the ancient world.[55]

Perrault thus points to Louis XIV as a modern king as great as the ancient kings, and to Lebrun and Racine as having excelled the ancients in the visual and literary arts.[56] The quarrel was transferred directly to music by Lecerf who explicitly states that the ancients and moderns are represented by the French and the Italians:

> In comparison with the Italians, the French musicians are our ancients.[57]

A parallel controversy existed in painting at the same time, that of color vs. drawing. The essence of this quarrel was that drawing is purely intellectual and appeals to the mind whereas color appeals to the eye, in other words, the senses.[58] In the late 17th century the quarrel developed into that of the Poussinistes, who upheld drawing as the most important aspect, and the Rubénistes, who upheld color.[59] Poussin believed that

> . . . the highest aim of painting is to represent noble and serious human actions . . . appealing to the mind rather than the senses, [the artist] should suppress such trivialities as glowing colour, and stress form and composition.[60]

The quarrel of colour vs. drawing closely parallels that of Italian and French music, the one appealing to the senses, the other to the intellect. To put it another way, it is a confrontation of subjective and objective ways of viewing art. This, then, represents the second way of viewing the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle:

> In reality, the debate between Ancients and Moderns represented a dialectic between the subjective [Moderns] and objective [Ancients] modes of criticism . . . the Moderns championed a greater emphasis on individual taste and the subjective response of the listener.[61]

This is, in essence, the stance of Raguenet, who reacts subjectively to Italian music, while Lecerf reacts objectively. French and Italian musical styles

> . . . embodied in tangible form the underlying critical and aesthetic questions of the age. French music was seen by its partisans as the ideal embodiment of reason and rules, the perfect imitation of belle nature and of ancient music drama, while Italian music was praised for its sonorous appeal to the senses, its manifestations of creative genius that could be apprehended through feeling rather than through knowledge.[62]

The Raguenet-Lecerf quarrel is really about whether sound for the sake of sound, (sensual pleasure), is an acceptable part of music, thus it is but one manifestation of the age old problem of l'art pour l'art.[63]

While the quarrels over the merits of the French and Italian styles raged on, some writers proposed that the two nations could learn

from each other and that a union of the two styles would result in "the perfection of music." The journals Memoires de Trévoux and Journal des Savants, which early on became involved in the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle, had offered an early suggestion that the French and Italian styles "might be appreciated on their own merits," and, in 1706, the Journal des Savants proposed that each might learn from the other.[64] In 1713, the Mercure Galant published the "Dissertation de Mr. L. T. sur la musique italienne et française," which suggested

> . . . that one would create a perfect type of music, if one could join the learned and ingenious style of the Italian with the natural and simple good taste of the French. . . .[65]

Thus the term goûts-réunis had already been defined in essence before Couperin coined it in his publication of ten concerts in 1724, Les Goûts-Réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts. Couperin wrote that this title ". . . serves to mark the diversity of styles which one will find here assembled,"[66] but it is in his Apothéose de Lulli of 1725 that he offers a real definition of the term, one which sounds remarkably similar to that of the Mercure in 1713:

> Apollo persuades Lully and Corelli that the union of the French and Italian styles will result in the perfection of music.[67]

As Cowart notes:

> The attempts at reconciliation offered in the Journal des Savants (1706), the Mercure (1713), and by Couperin in his Goûts-Réunis, effected a solution of sorts to the problem raised by Raguenet and Lecerf, and served to bring controversy over French and Italian music to a temporary conclusion.[68]

The presentation of Rameau's Hippolyte in 1733 would cause the controversy to flare up once more.

While the journalists had offered the suggestion of a union of the two styles in 1713, composers had long been attempting a joining of the styles. The Pastorale d'Issy (1659), of Perrin and Cambert represents an early attempt at les goûts-réunis for in the preface we read:

> Our language is capable of expressing the most beautiful passions and the most tender sentiments, and if one mixes the Italian style of music a little with our manner of singing one may achieve something in between the two, more agreeable than either.[69]

Michele Mascitti clearly speaks of goûts-réunis in the preface to his Opus 2 sonatas of 1706:

> I have found such lovely ideas in French music, that I have tried in some of my sonatas to blend it with the Italian style.[70]

Similarly Jean-Baptiste Morin describes a union of the two styles in the preface to his volume of French cantatas of 1706, noting that he has tried

> . . . to retain the sweetness of the French style of melody, but with greater variety in the accompaniments, and employing those tempos and modulations characteristic of the Italian cantata.[71]

André Campra, in the preface to his Cantates Françaises of 1708, writes that he has attempted ". . . to mix the vivacity of Italian music with the gentleness of the French."[72]

Attempts at a union of the two styles continued after the Mercure article of 1713 and Couperin's Goûts-Réunis (1724). In 1728, for example,

The Venetian Saggione received a privilège to publish his Airs français dans le goût italien [73] and in 1728 and 1729 the Concert Spirituel presented a Union de la musique italienne et française by the cellist Battistin Stuck.[74]

The idea of mixing the French and Italian styles persisted in the 1730's, when the first book of Leclair's concertos was published. In 1732, Titon du Tillet speaks of a goûts-réunis in the music of the violinist Senaillié:

> He blends there in a most pleasant way the natural, noble, and graceful melody of French music, with the learned and brilliant harmony of the Italians. . . .[75]

And in 1736 Cartaud de la Vilate, like Mr. L.T. and Couperin before him concludes that

> . . . perfection in the art of music may be obtained only through the reconciliation of Italian compositional technique with French simplicity and naiveté.[76]

It is probable that Leclair, a well read man,[77] was aware of the idea of a union of the two styles. It is certain that he knew of Stuck's Union de la musique italienne et français, for he played a concerto on the same date in 1728 at the Concert Spirituel.[78] At any rate, his music certainly represents one of the outstanding realizations of the goûts-réunis idea.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN STYLES

In the 16th century the violin was used in both France and Italy for dance music and to accompany voices, doubling the vocal parts.[1] It was only in the 17th century that a clear distinction between French and Italian styles of violin playing began to develop. This distinction was first based on functional considerations, (the purposes for which the violin was used), and soon came to be characterized by several means including the manner of holding both violin and bow, the materials involved in sound production, (strings and bow), technique, and the kind of sound sought by the violinists of each nation.

With their development of the sonata in the early 17th century, the Italians made the violin a "serious" instrument, suitable for performance in both chamber and church, and developed a new style of playing, expanding the range of the instrument and creating new, idiomatic types of figuration. The French were conservative for, as we have seen, the violin was still associated with the dance in the 17th century, a function it had served since its invention.[2]

In this chapter the essential differences between French and Italian styles of violin performance and composition in the 18th century are described. Primary sources provide a wealth of information on the differences between the styles of the two nations. The following survey of these sources presents a contemporary view of the differences--one which is then used to examine Leclair's concertos.

Materials

For information on the differences between French and Italian strings and bows we are chiefly indebted to Raguenet who says that the Italian violins ". . . are mounted with strings much larger than ours; their bows are longer, and they can make their instruments sound as loud again as we do ours."[3] His statement about bows refers to what has been called the Italian "sonata bow," which was considerably longer than the traditional French dance bow.[4]

Raguenet's observation on Italian strings is questionable, for the Italians played at significantly higher pitch than the French (see "Pitch" below). In order to play at this higher pitch their strings would in fact have had to be thinner, not thicker, if tension remained the same.[5] While we have found no reference to "new, Italian" strings in France, the following quote illustrates Bollioud-Mermet's dissatisfaction with the unnaturally thin strings of the new sonata player in France:

> The desire to shine causes him to take a tone so high that strings of a natural thickness will not hold and he is thus obliged to mount his violin with hairs, so to speak, strings which give thin sounds. . . .[6]

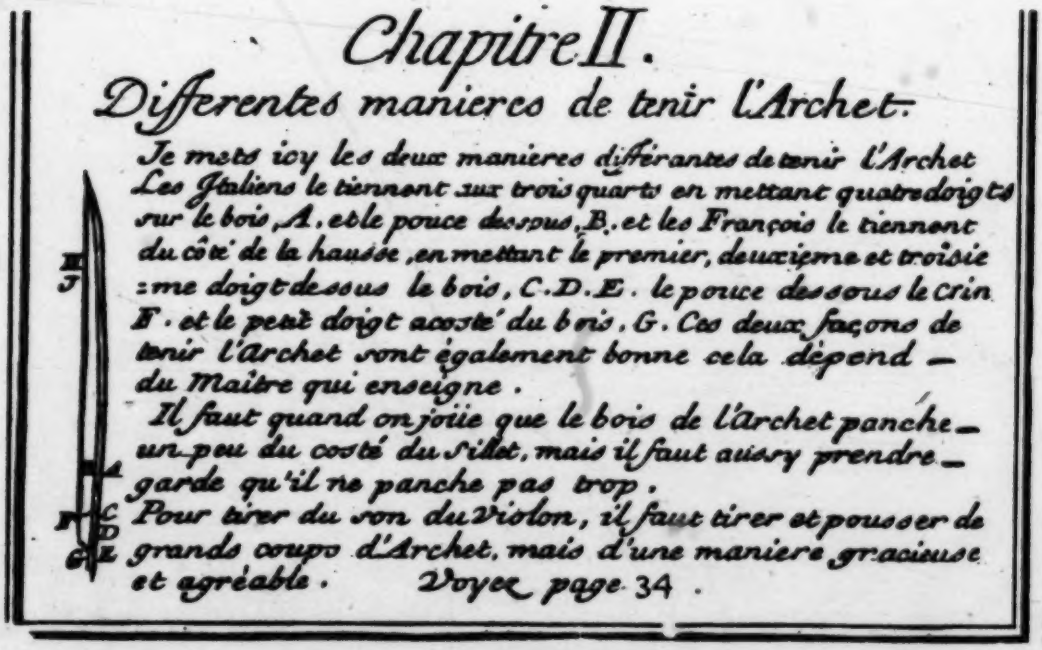
Bollioud clearly says that the higher pitch results in thinner strings. His association of these strings with sonata players[7] illustrates the probability that Italian violinists and violinists trained in Italy (for example, Senaillié and Leclair) brought Italian strings to France.

Bow Grip, Violin Grip, Violin Clef

French and Italian violinists differed in their bow grip, the way they held the violin, and in the clef used for violin music. Perhaps the

clearest description of the two ways of holding the bow is that found in Corrette's L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738). (Figure 1)

Figure 1. Michel Corrette, L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738), p. 7.



Chapitre II.

Differentes manieres de tenir l'Archet.

Je mets icy les deux manieres différantes de tenir l'Archet Les Italiens le tiennent aux trois quarts en mettant quatre doigts sur le bois, A. et le pouce dessus, B. et les François le tiennent du côté de la hausse, en mettant le premier, deuxieme et troisie : me doigt dessous le bois, C. D. E. le pouce dessous le Crin F. et le petit doigt acosté du bois, G. Ces deux façons de tenir l'archet sont également bonne cela dépend — du Maître qui enseigne.

Il faut quand on joüe que le bois de l'archet panche — un peu du costé du Sillet, mais il faut aussy prendre — garde qu'il ne panche pas trop.

Pour tirer du son du Violon, il faut tirer et pousser de grands coups d'Archet, mais d'une maniere gracieuse et agréable. Voyez page 34.

The relevant part of the text reads:

> Here I illustrate the two different manners of holding the bow. The Italians hold it about 15 centimeters from the frog[8] placing four fingers on the stick, A, and the thumb beneath, B, and the French hold it on the side of the frog, placing the first, second, and third fingers above the stick, C, D, E, the thumb beneath the hair, F, and the little finger beside the stick, G. These two manners of holding the bow are equally good; it depends on the teacher. —

The difference between the French and Italian grips was noted by Muffat in the preface to his Florilegium Secundum of 1698:

> The majority of German violinists . . . hold the bow like the French by gripping the hair with the thumb . . . the Italians . . . do not touch the hair.[9]

French violinists slowly adopted the Italian grip during the course of the 18th century. While Montéclair's Méthode . . . of 1712 recommends holding the bow in the French manner[10] Corrette's Orphée (1738) illustrates both methods and says, "These two manners of holding the bow are equally good, it depends on the teacher."[11] But by the time of L,Abbé le fils' treatise (1761), the French grip has become obsolete; l'Abbé does not even mention it.[12]

A similar evolution is to be seen in the manner of holding the violin. As Boyden notes, if one compares the lithograph of the painting by Gerard Dou of 1665 with the frontispiece of Corrette's Orphée (1738),[13] one can see how the French violin grip has changed. The violin, held at the breast in the traditional dance style in the Dou lithograph has, in Corrette's illustration, now moved up to the collarbone and is supported by the chin. The "breast-grip" sufficed as long as simple dance music remaining in first position was played,but it became necessary to support the violin when more difficult music appeared, especially music requiring shifts, as Corrette noted:

> It is necessary to place the violin on the chin when one wishes to shift; this gives complete freedom to the left hand.[14]

Again, an evolution of sorts can be seen in the treatises. While Brossard recommends holding the violin at the shoulder, below the cheek

or lower if it is more comfortable,[15] Corrette and L'Abbé both recommend supporting the violin with the chin.[16]

Boyden associates the holding of the violin at the shoulder or neck with Italian players:

> The Italians probably preferred the neck (or high shoulder) position for most music, judging by their quick gravitation to this position after 1600.[17]

He also notes that the French probably learned this grip from the Italians:

> . . . it appears likely that the French had been somewhat influenced by the Italians over a period of time. Pictures [around the turn of the 18th century] show the violin held at the shoulder or neck, the customary Italian position, but relatively little at the breast, the position traditional to the French in the past.[18]

Thus, there existed a difference between the two nations in the manner of holding the violin, at least up to about 1700.

A distinctive feature of the French violin school was the use of the G clef on the first, or bottom line of the staff, as opposed to the more usual G clef on the second line. In his Dictionnaire de Musique Brossard notes that all other countries use the G clef on the second line for violin music, while the French use it on the first line.[19] Brossard says the first way (second-line G clef) is good when the melody goes very low while the second (first-line G clef) is preferable when the melody goes very high.[20] These remarks reflect something of the range demanded by the violin music of the two nations, the Italians making more use of the lower notes of the violin than the French (for more on this, see below under "Sound Ideals").

The two violin clefs are mentioned in numerous treatises of the period.[21] While French sonata composers began to adopt the Italian clef as early as 1708,[22] it is not clear when the French clef was abandoned. Pincherle says that after 1715 all French sonata writers used the Italian clef[23] while Boyden says the use of the French clef persisted up to 1725 ". . . as an inheritance from the past and possibly as a symbol of resistance to Italian influence."[24] In fact its use continued rather longer than the dates provided by these authors. The two clefs were often used to distinguish between the French and Italian styles. In the Apothéose de Lulli (1725), Couperin used the French clef for his representation of Lully, the Italian clef for that of Corelli. Corrette used the French clef for the portions of his L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738) in le goût français, the Italian clef for the exercises and pieces in le goût italien. The use of the French clef continued till rather late in the more conservative and traditional genre of opera. Rameau used the French clef in his opera Hippolyte et Aricie of 1733 and continued to use this clef until the 1750's, at least, for the manuscript copy of his Daphnis et Eglé of 1753 shows the French clef in the violin parts.[25]

Sound Ideals

Musicians and theorists of the late 17th century and through much of the 18th century noted a great difference in the sound produced by French and Italian violinists. This was a result of differences in the range accorded to the violin, the pitch at which the instruments were tuned, the manner of attacking the string, and the basic bow stroke.

French violinists to the 18th century confined themselves mostly to the first position, not playing beyond c^3 on the E string, reached by a

semitone extension of the fourth finger in first position.[26] Mersenne defines the range of the violin as being from open string G to b^2.[27] Brossard, writing 75 years later, expands this by only a single semitone, still remaining in first position, (in other words, G - c^3).[28] The French avoided the upper registers of the instrument, finding the sound disagreeable, (see Lecerf below, p. 40), and unnatural. Characteristic of this is Brossard's statement that it is possible to extend the range of the violin past c^3,

> . . . but, for that, it is necessary to displace the hand, and that is forcing the instrument; in a word, the moment it passes a perfect fourth above two octaves [in other words, past c^3], it is no longer, so to speak, the violin. . . .[29]

It is interesting to note that, as late as 1741, Rameau does not exceed this range in the violin part of his Pièces de Clavecin en Concert.

In addition to avoiding the upper range of the instrument, the French also avoided the lower range, specifically the G string. While this may be at least partially attributed to the unresponsiveness of a pure gut G string, there is little doubt that the French had a taste for the "medium" range of the instrument. Brossard's observation as to the usefulness of the second-line G clef when the melody goes low (see above, p. 37) can be adduced as partial evidence that the French, using first-line G clef rarely wrote that low for the violin.[30] In Pierre Dupont's violin treatise of 1718 (Principes de Violon) the lessons begin with the open D string and the range is from d to c^3. The G string is not even mentioned, nor is its use required by Dupont's examples. Further evidence of French use of only the upper strings is provided by Mersenne and Bollioud-Mermet, writing over 100 years apart:

> . . . one almost only plays the chanterelle and the second string of the violin. . .[31]

> . . . he [the new sonata player] plays practically nothing but the two upper strings. . . .[32]

In addition, we note Raguenet's preference for the Italian violins playing higher than the French. After noting that the French second violin ". . . descends too low to deserve our attention," Raguenet says,

> In Italy the upper parts are generally three or four notes higher than in France, so that their seconds are high enough to have as much beauty as the very first with us.[33]

Lecerf responds to Raguenet's accusation by saying, "The first upper parts of the Italians squeak because they are too high. . . ."[34] This complaint with Italian violinists playing too high was to become fairly common in the 18th century. Bollioud-Mermet says of modern performers (in other words, Italian or Italian influenced performers) ". . . their sin most often lies in excessively high pitch. . . ,"[35] and elsewhere:

> He neglects the entire range of the instrument and scorning, so to speak, the sonorous tones which he would find there, he applies himself to extracting shrill, often out of tune, sounds.[36]

Quantz also berates Italian violinists for playing too high:

> They seek the greatest beauty at the place where it is not to be found, to wit, the extremely high register, or at the end of the finger board. . . depriving the instrument of the gravity and agreeableness which the thick strings are capable of giving it.[37]

An extreme example of this tendency can be seen in the Caprices of Locatelli's Op. 3 of 1733 (Ex. 6).

Ex. 6. Locatelli Caprice No. 22 from Op. 3 (1733)

The limited range prescribed by French writers is a reflection of the essentially Renaissance outlook of the French summed up in the phrase "musica id est ars cantandi".[38] A second aspect of this vocal conception of all music is the constant emphasis on the ability of instruments to imitate the voice. Mersenne says that if we prize instruments for how well they imitate the voice, the viol should be valued most[39] and Jean Rousseau notes that the viol is admired for ". . . coming closest to the voice, which all instruments must imitate."[40] In the 18th century this concern is still seen in the demands of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (among others), that instrumental music must imitate le chant.[41]

The medium range preferred by the French tells us something about the kind of sound they produced. Remarks by Muffat and Quantz on the pitch used by the various nations tell us more:

> The pitch to which the French tune is ordinarily a whole tone, and in the operas even a minor third, lower than that called Cornett Ton in Germany, which they find too high, too whining, and too forced.[42]

Quantz also notes a lower pitch in use by the French:

> The disagreeable choir pitch [Chorton] prevailed in Germany for several centuries . . . But after the French had transformed the German cross-pipe into the transverse flöte . . . using their lower and more agreeable pitch, the high [Chorton] began to be supplanted by the chamber pitch [Kammerton].[43]

The actual pitch represented by the Chorton is thought to be a = about 480, while that of the Kammerton, which Quantz recommends,[44] is a = about 410.[45] As Quantz notes, this Kammerton is approximately a minor third below Chorton.[46] Muffat had noted that Lully's opera orchestra played at

a pitch a minor third below Chorton[47] (see above), thus this pitch, a = about 410, is thought to represent that of Lully's orchestra.[48]

According to Quantz, the highest pitch in use in his time was that of the Venetians, a significant observation for us, since it was the Venetians who developed the solo concerto. This pitch is thought to be a = about 455.[49] Finally, Quantz speaks of "Parisian" and "very low French chamber pitch," both thought to be a = about 380.[50]

The lower pitch used by the French, (a = 380 or 410) must have given their violins a markedly different sound from that of the Venetians and Germans (a = 455 or even 480). The French sound would have been richer, more sonorous while having less volume than that of the Italians and Germans, whose higher pitch undoubtedly gave them greater volume and, especially, brilliance. Muffat notes that the French considered this brilliant sound ". . . too high and too forced."[51]

But this apparently changed over the course of the 18th century. Quantz writes, "At present, the Parisian pitch [formerly a = about 380] is beginning almost to equal that of Venice [a = about 455]."[52] Bollioud's remarks quoted above (p. 34) substantiate Quantz's claim of rising French pitch. Perhaps the French began to raise their pitch as the concerto became established and soloists were forced to seek greater volume and brilliance.

The sweetness of the French sound was often contrasted with the violence of that of the Italians:

> He admired the performance of our violins . . . he was greatly discouraged by the coarseness and harshness of the greatest Italian masters, when he had savoured the tenderness of touch and the neatness of our French masters.[53]

The difference in approach between the two nations seems to have been in the manner of attacking the string, with the French using a gentle attack,[54] the Italians a much harder one.

The French taste was reflected by Lecerf:

> In truth, mademoiselle, your Italians carry too far a certain desire to elicit sound from their instruments . . . they produce a sound excessively shrill and violent. I am always afraid that the first stroke of the bow will make the violin fly into splinters, they use so much pressure.[55]

On this point at least Raguenet and Lecerf are in agreement. Raguenet also finds the Italian violin sound disagreeable:

> As to the instruments, our masters touch the violin much finer and with a greater nicety than they do in Italy. Every stroke of their bow sounds harsh, if broken, and disagreeable, if continued.[56]

Finally, Muffat commented on the French manner of attacking the string:

> The greatest skill of the true Lullistes consists in that among so many retakes of the bow at the frog, one nevertheless never hears anything unpleasant nor harsh but, on the contrary, one finds . . . a tender sweetness. . . .[57]

The basic bow stroke of French and Italian players was also contrasted, particularly by Quantz, who compares a short, articulated French stroke with a legato Italian stroke:

> In general it is to be noted that in the accompaniment, particularly in lively pieces, a short and articulated bow stroke, wielded in the French manner, produces a much better effect than a long and dragging Italian stroke.[58]

Raguenet admires the legato abilities of the Italian violinists. When Italian violins are to express tranquility, Raguenet says,

> Every string of the bow is of an infinite length, lingering on a dying sound which decays gradually till at last it absolutely expires.[59]

Similarly, LeBlanc, on the playing of the Italian G.B. Somis, says,

> . . . a single stroke of the bow lasted so long, that the memory of it takes one's breath away.[60]

The ability of the Italians to sustain a note for so long was no doubt related to the greater length of their bow (see Raguenet, above, p. 34). The articulated French stroke, while partially due to their shorter bow, was also a product of the bowing discipline inaugurated by Lully. This discipline, often called the "Rule of the Down-Bow,"[61] was designed to cause the bow strokes and articulation patterns of the music to correspond with the steps of the dance and its most characteristic aspect was the reprise d'archet, or the lifting of the bow and replacing of it at the frog to execute two consecutive down bows - thus an articulation for which, as we have seen, the French were noted, (Plate 1--in the musical examples of this illustration the "t" designates tiré or down bow, and the "p" poussé, or up bow).

Performance

"Avoid these excesses, leave to Italy all this false brilliance and foolish glitter."[62] Thus Boileau expressed a typically French attitude which applied as easily to the Italian manner of performance as to their poetry:

Plate I. Pierre Dupont, Principes de Violon (1718), p. 5.

Explication du coup d'archet, de la mesure a 3. temps.

D. Quel est le coup d'archet de la Leçon d'acôté
R. Lorsque lón trouvera vne croche entre 2. noires, dans la mesure à 3. temps, marquée par un 3. lón doit tirer la p.re noire, pousser la croche et tirer la noire, qui acheve la mesure, cõme let. p. et t. vous l'enseigne, ainsi des autres mesures, songez à tirer la p.re note de chaque mesure.

2.e regle generale du coup d'archet de la mesure à 3. temps, lors qu'il y aura vne noire, et 4. croches.

D. Quel est le coup d'archet de la Leçon d'acôté.
R. Lorsque l'on trouvera vne noire et 4. croches, dans vne mesure à 3. temps, marquée par un 3. lón doit tirer la noire, pousser les 2. p.res croches et tirer la 3.e pour pouser la 4.e
D. Pourquoy ne mettez vous pas des t. et des p. sous toute les notes
R. Comme lón ne trouvera point de t. ni de p. dans les livres de musique, il est plus apropos de donner des regles gen.les

Regle du coup d'archet, lorsqu'il y aura 4. croches et vne noire, dans la mesure à 3. temps.

D. Quel est le coup d'archet, de la 5.e Leçon d'acôté.
R. Lorsque l'on trouvera 4. croches et vne noire dans la mesure à 3. temps, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t
D. Qu'elle difference faites vous de la 4.e Leçon, à la 5.e
R. C'est qu'à la 4.e la noire est avant les croches et à la 5.e les croches sont avant la noire, ce qui fait que le coup d'archet est different.
D. Qu'elle remarque faite vous, du coup d'archet, pour la mesure à 3. temps, marquée par un 3.
R. Lorsqu'il y aura nombre pair: dans les croches, et qu'il y aura vne noire au cõmencem.t de la mesure, lón doit tirer la noire et pousser les 2. p.res croches, cõme le t. et les 2. p. de la 4.e Leçon l'enseigne, et quand les croches seront avant la noire, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t cõme le t. p. t. p. t. de la 5.e Leçon l'enseigne.

Explication de la 6.e Leçon,

D. Qu'elle remarque faite vous dans la 6.e Leçon d'acôté.
R. Lorsque l'on trouvera vne noire pointée et 3. croches dans la mesure à 3. temps, il faut tirer et pousser alternativem.t vne blanche et vne noire de même, et quand il y aura 2. croches entre 2. noires, il faut tirer la noire et pouser 2. fois pour les 2. croches.
D. Qu'elle remarque faite vous encore.
R. Lorsqu'il y a un point au cõmencem.t de la mesure, il faut pousser la p.re croche et tirer la 2.e
D. Qu'elle remarque faite vous de la mesure à 2. temps.
R. Lorsqu'il y a 4 noires, il faut tirer et pousser cõme l'archet vient à blanches de même, c'est à dire que lorsqu'il y a nombre pair, il faut tirer et pousser cõme l'archet vient, lón en parlera par la suite emplem.t cõme des autres.

5.e Leçon, pour aprendre à jouer les quartes.

4.e Leçon, pour aprendre à jouer les quin

5.e Leçon, pour aprendre à jouer les sixte

6.e Leçon, pour aprendre à jouer les 7.e

7.e Leçon.

> The Italian manner of playing is arbitrary, extravagant, obscure, frequently bold and bizarre, and difficult in execution. . .[63]

Quantz' description of Italian performance echoes the complaints of many a French writer in the 18th century, particularly with regard to the difficulty of Italian music. Mr. L.T. had complained bitterly about this difficulty noting the great velocity of their playing and the complication of their figured basses:

> Is a composer not truly glorious for having written a piece so full of modulations, so full of B, E, and naturals, and of such speed, that none can get hold of it, that he can scarcely decipher it himself? Here is a piece, says he, which I defy all instrumentalists to play, nor harpsichord players to find the chords, without great difficulty.[64]

Aubert had contrasted the difficulty of Italian concertos with the simplicity of the French style in the Preface to his Concert de simphonies . . . (ca. 1730):

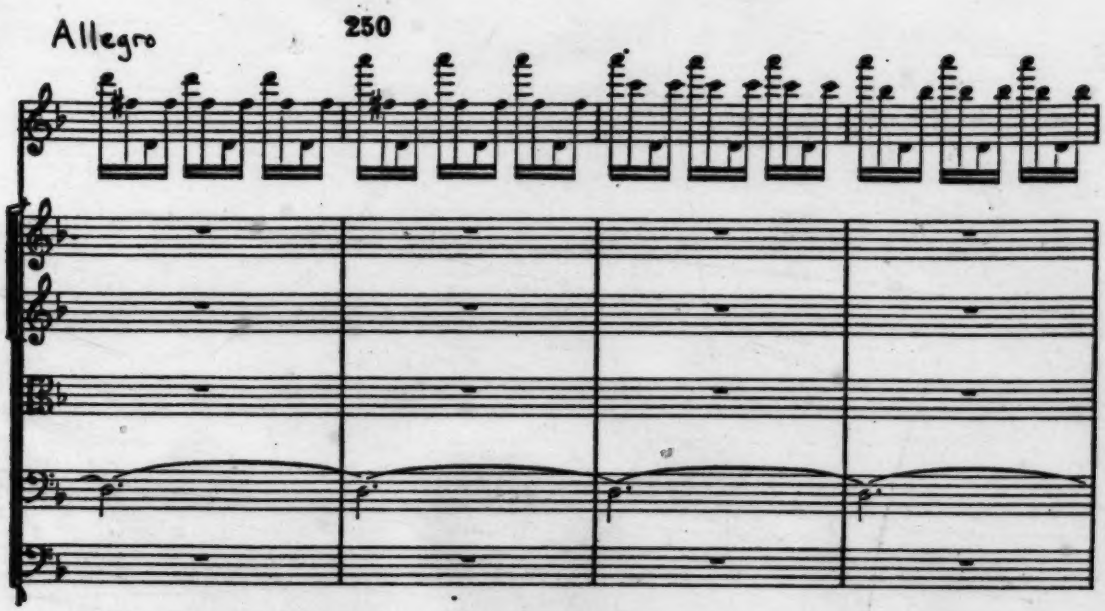
> Moreover, most young people, believing themselves technically proficient enough to perform the extraordinarily difficult passages found in nearly all those works, lose the gracefulness, clarity, and beautiful simplicity of French taste,[65] (See Ex. 7).

Quantz too noted the simplicity of French performance:

> The [French] instrumentalists, especially the keyboard players, do not ordinarily devote themselves to the performance of difficult feats, or to the use of many embellishments in the Adagio. . . .[66]

Quantz also notes that since French music is easier to perform than Italian, a beginner should master French music first.[67]

Ex. 7. Vivaldi, Op. 8/8/iii



Quantz contrasts the performers of the two nations with regard to clarity of execution:

> . . . [the French violinists] execute their pieces with much distinctness and accuracy, and thus at least do not spoil the good ideas of the composer. Because of their distinct execution, they make better ripienists in an orchestra than the Italians.[68]

> . . . the beginner is to be advised to use French propriety and clarity to temper the obscurity of the playing of the Italians, chiefly caused by their bowing, and by the excessive addition of graces, a matter in which the Italian instrumentalists go too far, and the French in general do not go far enough.[69]

On this "obscure" bowing of the Italians, Quantz writes:

> In the Allegro they consider the sawing out of a multitude of notes in a single bow-stroke to be some special achievement.[70] (Ex. 8)

Ex. 8. Vivaldi, Op. 8/5/iii ("La Tempesta di Mara")

Finally, the Italian "passion" in performance must be noted. Mersenne describes this particular aspect of Italian performance and, while he is describing vocal music, his remarks are equally appropriate to violinists as well, as we shall see in quotes from Raguenet and Galliard:

> With regard to the Italians . . . they depict as well as they can the passions and the affects of the soul and of the mind, for example, anger, fury, spite, rage, the failings of the heart, and many other passions, with such strange violence, that one would almost think them touched by the same passions they represent in singing, while our Frenchmen are content with caressing the ear and making use of a perpetual sweetness, which hinders energy.[71]

Raguenet says that if a storm or rage is to be expressed in a symphony, the Italian violinist

> . . . is seized with an unavoidable agony; he tortures his violin; he racks his body; he is no longer master of himself, but is agitated like one possessed with an irresistible motion.[72]

This seemingly extravagant characterization is echoed by the following description of Corelli's playing, attributed to Galliard:

> I never met with any man who suffered his passions to hurry him away so much whilst he was playing on the violin as the famous Arcangelo Corelli, whose eyes will sometimes turn as red as fire; his countenance will be distorted, his eyeballs roll as in agony, and he gives in so much to what he is doing that he doth not look like the same man.[73]

One can imagine how this kind of performance would be viewed by contemporary Frenchmen, so reserved, so tied to the concept of bienséance or propriety. We shall compare contemporary accounts of Leclair's playing with these accounts in the next chapter.

Ornamentation

One area in which French and Italians clearly differed was that of ornamentation, specifically in the notation of ornaments, the kind and amount of ornaments, and in the use of the unwritten tradition of notes inégales.

Quantz notes that the French write their embellishments in the music, specifically prescribing the ornamentation. This is opposed to the Italians' lack of written ornamentation, the performer being expected to supply his own:

> For pieces in the French style are . . . composed with appoggiaturas and shakes in such a fashion that almost nothing may be added to what the composer has written. In music after the Italian style, however, much is left to the caprice, and to the ability, of the performer.[74]

J.-J. Rousseau also spoke of this difference between French and Italians:

> I have taken from the two musics airs equally esteemed each within its genre, and, stripping them, the ones of their constant ports-de-voix and cadences [in other words, French], the others of their implied notes, which the composer scarcely bothers writing and which he leaves to the intelligence of the singer [Italian]. . . .[75]

This kind of freedom for the performer was completely foreign to French music, largely thanks to Lully, who banished the tradition of ornamental improvisations when he took control of the 24 violins. The effects of Lully's discipline were still felt over 100 years later and are to be seen in J.- J. Rousseau's definition of the Cadenza:

> French music, especially French vocal music, which is extremely slavish, leaves the singer no such freedom [as the cadenza], which he would be quite uncomfortable to use.[76]

The two nations were contrasted in the kind of ornamentation they used. Quantz characterizes these by the terms "essential," corresponding to the French, and "extempore," corresponding to the Italians.[77] He describes the difference as follows:

> The Adagio may be viewed in two ways with respect to the manner in which it should be played and embellished; that is, it may be viewed in accordance with the French or the Italian style. The first requires . . . embellishment with the essential graces, such as appoggiaturas, whole and half-shakes, mordents, turns, battemens, flattemens, etc. but no extensive passage-work or significant addition of extempore embellishments . . . . In the second manner, that is, the Italian, extensive artificial graces that accord with the harmony are introduced in the adagio in addition to the little French embellishments.[78]

Quantz goes on to say that with the extempore ornaments of the Italians, ". . . knowledge of harmony is indispensable . . ." where the French manner of embellishing the Adagio ". . . may be learned without understanding harmony."[79] Examples 9 and 10 present the two styles of embellishment for comparison. In the first of these, by François Couperin, the top line represents an ornamented version of the middle line and is meant to serve as a varied repeat.[80]

The freedom accorded the performer in Italian music often resulted in abuses of the privilege. Lecerf had criticized Italian music for excessive ornamentation, when, noting that music must be natural and simple, he wrote "I call simple the music which is not loaded with ornaments. . . ."[81] On Italian ornamentation Mr. L.T. writes ". . . could one not say . . . that their too frequent and out of place ornaments stifle expression?"[82] To this, Mr. L.T. opposes Lully:

> . . . did he [Lully] resort to all this false brilliance and these misplaced ornaments of Italian music? Nothing is more simple and more natural than his music.[83]

Similarly, Bollioud-Mermet on the new style of sonata player (in other words, Italian or Italian influenced player), says,

> Moreover it is far too common to play the note exactly as it is written. One must decorate, embellish, show off the hand, virtuosity, difficulty. . . . The quickness of the written figures is not enough; one must double it. It is no longer a question of moving nor pleasing; one must astound, astonish.[84]

Quantz too notes that

Ex. 9. Couperin, "Premier Courante," Ordre I of Pièces de Clavecin (1713)

Ex. 10. Vivaldi, Op. 4/5/ii

> . . . present day Italian instrumentalists, particularly violinists, . . . crowd the Adagio with so many graces and wild runs, that you would take it for a jocular-allegro. . . .[85]

These abuses were not, however, as limited to Italian performers as the authors quoted above would have us believe. Remarks by both Couperin and Leclair attest to similar problems in France:

> I am always astonished, after the pains I have taken to indicate the appropriate ornaments for my pieces . . . to hear persons who have learnt them without heeding my instructions. Such negligence is unpardonable, the more so as it is no arbitrary matter to put in any ornament one wishes. I therefore declare that my pieces must be performed just as I have written them; . . .[86]

and,

> . . . an important point, which one cannot emphasize enough, is to avoid this confusion of notes which are added to expressive and melodic pieces, and which serves only to disfigure them.[87]

Another area in which French and Italians differed was in the application of notes inégales. Several contemporary writers considered this to be a French practice. Muffat calls the practice "à la Françoise" when he says certain notes

> . . . are not played equal with one another as they are written, but are changed in the French manner by adding the value of a dot. . . .[88]

Etienne Loulié implies that inégales are unique to French music when he says that equal notes (égales) are

> used in melodies in which the sounds follow each other in disjunct motion, and in all sorts of foreign music, where one never alters them rhythmically except where indicated.[89]

François Couperin states flatly that inégales are only used in French music:

> . . . we write differently from that which we play . . . on the contrary, the Italians write their music in the true values in which they have been conceived. For example, we make unequal several eighths in a row in conjunct motion, however, we write them equal.[90]

There is evidence that inégales were not applied only to French music. Michel Corrette, in his Méthode de la Flûte Traversière (ca. 1730), writes:

> The four-time C or ¢ is much used in Italian music, as in the Allemande, Adagio, Presto of sonatas and concertos. It is necessary to perform the quavers equal and to make unequal [pointer] the semiquavers two by two. These are also sometimes performed equal in Allegros and Prestos of sonatas and concertos . . . the 2/4 or 2/8 is the 2-time of the Italians. This measure is often used in the Allegros and Prestos of sonatas and concertos. The quavers must be performed equal, and the semiquavers made unequal: they are also sometimes performed equal in sonatas.[91]

Is Corrette describing the use of inégales by Italians? It seems more likely that he is describing a French manner of performing Italian music. Perhaps the French eventually came to apply their own performance practice to the Italian sonatas and concertos, (a mini goûts-réunis), in which case we may still consider notes inégales to be a French practice.

Harmony

In our examination of differences between French and Italian styles recognized by contemporaries, we have so far explored differences in the bow and strings, the bow grip, the clef used for violin music, the bow stroke and sound ideal of each, aspects of performance, and ornamentation. Another area in which the two styles were seen to differ was in that of harmony. Contemporaries contrasted French and Italian music in the amount of dissonance and chromaticism, and in the amount and kind of modulation.

Raguenet contrasts the two styles with regard to dissonance:

> It is not to be wondered that the Italians think our music dull and stupefying, that according to their taste it appears flat and insipid. . . .The French . . . aim at the soft, easy, the flowing and coherent . . . there is nothing bold and adventurous in it. . . . But the Italians pass boldly and in an instant from b-sharp to b-flat and from b-flat to b-sharp; they venture the boldest cadences and the most irregular dissonance . . . [92] (Examples 11 and 12).

He goes on to say that the French are fairly unable to perform these Italian dissonances ". . . being accustomed to the most soft natural intervals. . . ."[93]

Ex. 11. Vivaldi, Op. 8/11/i

Ex. 12. Vivaldi, Op. 4/8/i, (string parts)

Mr. L.T. also contrasts French and Italian music, noting that, with dissonance, one must not ". . . diminish its force by too frequent usage, as the Italians do, . . ." but that one must also avoid ". . . falling into monotony . . . for which the Italians could reproach us . . . " (for not enough use of dissonance).[94]

The two styles were contrasted with regard to diatonic as opposed to chromatic progressions. Quantz notes " [the French] prefer diatonic rather than chromatic progressions."[95] Lecerf criticizes Italian music in this area. For him, music must, as we have noted, (p. 52) be "natural" and "simple". He defines "natural" as

> . . . the music which is composed of notes that present themselves naturally, [i.e. diatonic -- French] which is not composed of notes that are far fetched or out of the ordinary [i.e. chromatic --Italian].[96]

Bollioud-Mermet contrasts the style of Lully with the modern, Italian influenced style:

> I admire him [Lully] especially in the preference he gave to diatonic harmony, in the careful, sober manner in which he used chromatic harmony.[97]

Example 13 shows the typical diatonic harmony of Lully, while Example 14 illustrates the chromatic approach of Vivaldi.

Ex. 13. Lully, "Ballet des Nations" from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Cinquième Entrée.

Ex. 14. Vivaldi, Op. 3/11/ii

The French and Italians were thought to differ in the amount and kind of modulations in their music. Mr. L.T. criticizes the Italians for their frequent modulations:

> . . . their pieces wallow through all the keys, and change mode at every instant, in such a manner that one cannot say at the end which key they are in.[98]

Mr. L.T. also notes that, because of temperament, these Italian modulations " . . .sound out of tune when played on the instruments, and chiefly on the harpsichord. . . ."[99] Again, the example of Lully is brought to bear against this:

> If one reproaches Lully for rarely having used modulations, it is not that he was unaware of their usage, but that he adapted himself to the subjects at hand . . . he knew full well that a melody is not more beautiful for having modulated a semitone up or down. . . .[100]

It was not only in the amount of modulation that the two countries differed, but also in the manner of modulating:

> The French would think themselves undone if they offended in the least against the rules. . . . The more hardy Italian changes the tone and the mode without any awe or hesitation . . .[101] (Ex. 15).

Ex. 15. Vivaldi, Op. 4/7/iii

The French care with modulation was compared with Italian freedom by J.-J. Rousseau as well, who notes that one advantage Italian music has over French is

> . . . the boldness of their modulations which, although less slavishly prepared than ours, add vigorous energy to the expression. It is by this means that the musician, passing quickly from one key or mode to another, and suppressing, when necessary, the intervening, pedantic transitions [which the French never do]. . . .[102]

One type of unprepared modulation characteristic of Vivaldi is the sudden move up a minor third from vi to I (Ex. 16) or from iii to V (Ex. 17). This type of modulation without preparation is also seen in Leclair's Op. 7/4 (See Chapter IV, p. 112).

Tempo

National differences existed in the area of tempo, and were recognized by contemporaries. The French were noted for the moderation of their tempos, the Italians for extremes of slowness and quickness. Quantz writes:

> What in former times was considered to be quite fast would have been played almost twice as slow as in the present day. . . . Contemporary French musicians have retained this style of moderate speed in lively pieces to a large extent.[103]

Muffat notes:

Ex. 16. Vivaldi, Op. 3/12/i

Ex. 17. Vivaldi, Op. 3/3/i

> In directing the measure or beat, one should for the most part follow the Italians, who are accustomed to proceed much more slowly than we do at the directions Adagio, Grave, Largo, etc., so slowly sometimes that one can scarcely wait for them, but at the directions Allegro, Vivace, Presto, Piu Presto, and Prestissimo much more rapidly and in a more lively manner.[104]

While Muffat is contrasting Italians and Germans, his remarks are equally applicable to the French.

Finally, Zaslaw notes that C.P.E. Bach may have been referring to the French when he wrote, "In certain other countries there is a marked tendency to play adagios too fast and allegros too slow."[105]

Another difference between the French and the Italians noted by contemporaries was in precision of measure, or the keeping of one tempo throughout a piece. The French apparently altered the tempo freely from measure to measure, while the Italians maintained one tempo throughout a piece. Raguenet, Corrette, and J.-J. Rousseau note the precision of the Italians:

> They beat no time to the bands in Italy, and yet you never find 'em out in the measure of the time.[106]

> While the accomplished violinists play Adagios and Largos without beating time, this does not prevent them from playing in time, which the cellist must also watch, and which the Italians practice with great accuracy, beating time only in large ensembles.[107]

> The third advantage [of the Italians], and that which gives melody its greatest power, is the extreme precision of measure which is felt in the slowest movements, as well as in the fastest. . . .[108]

J.-J. Rousseau describes the difference between the two styles of performance in his article "Chronometre", noting that the French musician

> . . . sings or plays more or less slowly from one measure to another, and even from one beat and one quarter beat to that which follows. In truth, this objection, which has great power for French music, would have none for Italian music, unfailingly subordinate to the most exact time. In fact, nothing better illustrates the perfect contrast between the two musics. . . . Italian music takes its energy from this subjection to precision of measure; French music looks for its energy in subjecting to its will this same measure, in pressing it, in slowing it down, according to what the style of the melody demands. . . .[109]

A sort of tangential proof of the existence of this French practice of free tempo is provided by admonitions by both Couperin and Leclair concerning such liberties:

> Be very careful never to alter the tempo in measured pieces, and never to hold notes whose value is completed.[110]

> It is . . . ridiculous to change the tempo of two rondos written to follow one another, and to play the major one faster than the minor one. It is good to enliven the major by one's manner of playing it, but this can be done without accelerating the beat.[111]

Meter

Contemporary musicians and theorists noted differences in the time signatures used by French and Italian composers. In some cases this amounted to the use of different signatures for the same effect:

> Further, although at the sign 2 the measure is very slowly divided into two parts [with the Lullistes], the notes have nearly the same value as they have with the Italians at the sign C and the additional direction 'Presto'. . . .[112]

> One should, in imitation of the Italians, use the sign 3/8 or 6/8 to mark the movement . . . but the use of a simple 3 or 3/4 has prevailed [in France].[113]

In other cases, however, it was noted that some signatures in use in one country were used rarely, or not at all, in the other. After discussing the time signatures in common usage Jean Rousseau states,

> Still other time signatures are used in Italy, such as 9/8, 12/16, and 3/16, which are written in the same manner as those marked above,[114]

and, later:

> Many other time signatures are used in Italian music, such as 12/4, 12/8, 9/4, 9/8, and others, (the implication is that they are not used in French music).[115]

Michel Corrette, in his Ecole d'Orphée, distinguishes the uses of each signature by each nation[116] and notes which signatures are unique to each:

> (6/4) . . . is used in French music for loures . . . forlanes, and sometimes in the reprise of ouvertures. It is very rarely found in Italian music;
>
> (3/2). . . is used very little in French music . . . Italian composers very often write sarabandes and adagios in this meter; and,
>
> (9/8) . . . is rarely found in French music, but rather often in Italian music such as gigues, allegros, prestos. . . .[117]

Corrette also notes that the signatures C and 2/4 are ". . . very frequent in Italian music." [118]

L'Ecole d'Orphée can be roughly divided into four sections: a preliminary one detailing the elements of music and general information on playing the violin, two middle sections containing "Lessons for learning to play the violin in the French style" and "in the Italian style," and a final section dealing with positions on the violin and offering more advanced études and an explication of Italian terms used in music. It is in the two middle sections that we learn more about which time signatures Corrette considered appropriate to the music of each nation. In the lessons in the French style, the time signatures used are 3, 2, and ¢, followed by a 6/8 gigue and 6/4 Forlane.[119] In the Italian section the lessons are in C, 2/4, 3/8, and 3/4.[120] Moreover, each of these sections ends with a piece in the appropriate goût, the French with a suite, using the time signatures ¢, 3/8, 3, and 6/4, and the Italian with a sonata using C, 2/4, 3/4, and 3/8.

The same kinds of observations made by Corrette on the uses of various signatures and the "national identity" of certain meters were made by Hotteterre in his L'Art de preluder sur la Flûte Traversière of 1719.[121] To summarize the views of Rousseau, Corrette, and Hotteterre we present the following table which cannot be considered comprehensive but which does give some idea of the differences perceived by these authors:

Figure 2

French	Both	Italian
3 , 2 , ¢ , 6/4	3/8 , 3/2 ,[122]	C , 2/4 , 3/4 , 9/8 , 3/2 , 6/8 ,[123] 12/4 , 12/8 , 9/4 , 12/16 , 3/16

The views of Corrette, Jean Rousseau, and Hotteterre are supported by an examination of the music of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the music of Lully, the man considered in the 18th century to be the most purely French of French composers, we discover a preponderance of the signatures 3, 2, ¢, 6/4 and 3/8.[124] In the same way that Lully may be considered representative of the French style, Corelli and Vivaldi may represent the Italian style. Corelli's Op. 5 reveals a predominance of the signatures C and 3/4, with 6/8 and 12/8 also appearing frequently.[125] In three of Vivaldi's most important concerto collections (Opp. 3, 4 and 8), the most common signatures are again C and 3/4 followed by, in order of frequency of appearance, 3/8, 2/4, and 12/8,[126] (surprisingly, 6/8 appears only once in the 36 concertos, in Op. 3/10).

To complete this examination of the differences between the French and Italian styles, a list of terms used in 17th-and 18th-century sources to describe the two styles is presented here:

Figure 3

Descriptions of the French and Italian Style in 17th-and 18th-Century Sources

Source	French	Italian
Bouchard (1635)	suave, agreeable	
Mersenne(1636)	perpetual sweetness	extreme passion, strange violence
St. Evremond(1683)	tenderness of touch, neatness	coarseness, harshness
Muffat(1698)	tender sweetness	
Raguenet(1702)	soft, easy, flowing, coherent	bold, irregular
Lecerf(1704)	natural, simple	
Brossard(1705)	flowing, natural, sweet	piquant, florid, expressive
Morin(1706)	sweetness	variety
Mr. L. T.(1713)	natural, simple, sweet noble	bizarre, learned inventive, ingenious
Aubert(c. 1730)	gracefulness, clarity beautiful simplicity	difficulty
Titon(1732)	natural, noble, graceful	learned, brilliant
Cartaud(1736)	simplicity, naiveté	compositional technique
Quantz(1752)	circumscribed, clarity propriety, accuracy	arbitrary, eccentric

CHAPTER IV

THE UNION OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN STYLES IN LECLAIR'S CONCERTOS

Before beginning an examination of goûts-réunis in Leclair's concertos it is necessary to first determine what the term meant in purely musical terms. Unfortunately, when speaking of the union of French and Italian styles, Leclair's contemporaries give us very little specific information about French and Italian music per se. A glance at the list of terms used to describe the two styles, provided in Chapter III,[1] tells us little about the actual musical content of each, nor do the few writers who actually described les goûts-réunis.[2] But Morin, Titon, and Cartaud fortunately give some idea of the musical substance of such a union:[3]

	French	Italian
Morin (1706):	Sweetness of melody	Greater variety in accompaniments, Italian tempos and modulations
Titon (1732):	Natural, noble, and graceful melody	Learned, brilliant harmony
Cartaud (1736)	Simplicity	Compositional technique

Thus, the union of French and Italian styles was seen as the joining of natural (diatonic) French melody and simplicity in formal design and harmony with Italian harmonic and formal complexity and compositional technique.[4]

Cartaud's term "compositional technique" no doubt refers to the imitative and/or sequential development so essential to Italian music of the time.

The first goûts-réunis was actually achieved by Lully, despite the fact that he was most often used as an example of a composer of pure French music by 18th century writers. The fact that Lully had achieved a union of the two styles was recognized by some of his contemporaries:

> He [Lully] was born in the country of beauty and he became so well adjusted to our manners, that he created, of the character and spirit of his nation and that of ours, this true blending of the one with the other which pleases, touches, and enraptures.[5]

Eighteenth-century French writers, embroiled in the controversies over the two styles, did not, however, recognize this union in Lully's music. Titon du Tillet, for example, writes that Lully

> . . . is the father of beautiful French music, and he brought it to its perfection, completely abandoning the style of Italian music.[6]

Modern writers agree with le Père Ménestrier regarding the union of styles in Lully's music. Bukofzer notes that Lully finally evolved the air and recit by ". . . transferring the affective pathos and melodic dissonances of the Italian lamento style to the French air and recitative," thus creating a ". . . fusion of styles without which the French opera would not have been possible."[7] James Anthony lists some of the Italian elements in Lully's operas:[8]

1. fugati of the overtures (perhaps a result of Lully's acquaintance with Italian canzona overtures, see Bukofzer, p. 154);

2. imitative ritornellos (". . . for the traditional Italian ensemble of two treble instruments and bass,"[9]);

3. independent comic scenes.

Lully both unites the two styles, as Bukofzer notes above, and contrasts them, placing them side by side. For example, in the Ballet de la Raillerie (1659), Lully ". . . composed an amusing dialogue in which he cleverly contrasted the simple syllabic style of the Italian canzonetta with the subtle turns of the French air."[10] A similar juxtaposition of the two styles is seen in the "Ballet des Nations" from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670), where the fourth and fifth entrées represent the Italian and French styles respectively. In the "Quatrième Entrée: Italiens," Lully offers an Italianate aria full of virtuosic vocal embellishments (Ex. 18). This is clearly contrasted with the simple, syllabic French air from the "Cinquième Entrée" (Ex. 19).

Couperin: Juxtaposition and Fusion

Any study of les goûts-réunis must deal with the music of François Couperin. This should come as no surprise since it was he who coined the term. In Couperin's music, as in the music of Lully, les goûts-réunis means two things: juxtaposition and fusion.

Couperin presented the two styles side by side in many of his chamber works. The clearest example of this is seen in his Les Nations (1726) each of which is an Italian sonata followed by a French suite. In the fourteen concerts of 1722 and 1724, Concerts Royaux and Les Goûts-Réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts, the juxtaposition of the two styles operates on both large and small scales. At one end of the scale, whole concerts

Ex. 18. Lully, "Ballet des Nations," Quatrième Entrée: Italiens

Ahi! che piu gio - va è pia - ce ahi! ahi!
che piu gio - va - e pia - ce Quan - to A - - - - - - -
- mor è piu vi - - - - - va - ce Ahi! che piu gio - va - e
pia - ce Quan - to A - mor è piu vi - va - - - -
1.
- ce!
2.
Ahi! che piu - ce

Ex. 19. Lully, "Ballet des Nations," Cinquième Entrée: François

Premier Poitevin
Ah qu'il fait beau dans ces bo . ca . ges Ah! que le ciel donne un beau jour
Second Poitevin
1. 2.
Le rossi . gnol sous ces tendres feuil . la . ges Chante aux é . chos son doux re . tour . tour
1. 2.
Ce beau sé . jour Ces doux ra . ma . ges Ce beau sé . jour nous in . vite a l'Amour . mour
Ce beau sé . jour Ces doux ra . ma . ges Ce beau sé . jour nous in . vite a l'Amour . mour

illustrate one goût. Number 8,[11] "Dans le goût théatral, " is in the style of Lully, with a typical French ouverture, French titles for all movements ("air tendre," "Loure," "Sarabande," "grave," etc.), and French time signatures (2, 3, 6/4 etc.),[12] while number 14 is an Italian church sonata in four movements, (SFSF), which exhibits Italian violin figuration (see the movement entitled "Fuguête") and imitative textures derived from the trio sonatas of Corelli. Couperin also contrasts the French and Italian styles in whole movements within a concert. An example of this is seen in the second concert where a French dance is followed by an Italian fugal movement, a French air, another Italian fugal movement, and "Echos," a French rondeau.

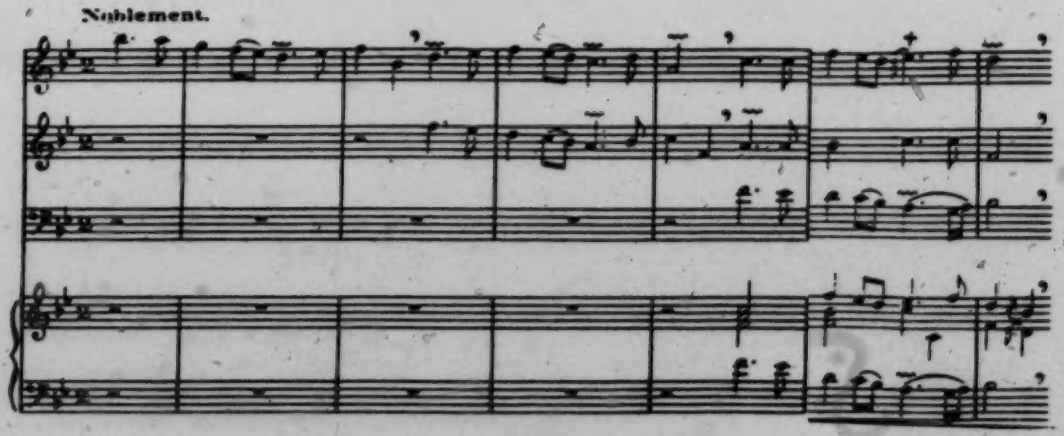
Couperin's juxtaposition of the two styles is nowhere more evident than in his Apothéose de Lulli,[13] where an alternation of French and Italian styles is dictated by a program. The first two pieces show Lully in the Champs-Élysés with the lyric shades. This music is clearly in the French style as the following excerpt, a menuet, illustrates (Ex. 20). The third movement, "Vol de Mercure," exhibits Italian vivacité, with rapid running figures in sequential patterns. (Ex. 21). This is followed by the "Descente d'Appollon," which displays characteristic French melodic shapes in an imitative trio sonata texture. (Ex. 22).

Ex. 20. Couperin, "Air pour les mêmes," Apothéose de Lulli

The "Rumeur souteraine" which follows is Italian in essence, with typical Italian violin figurations occupying the dessus. Number 7, the "Enlévement," exhibits Italian imitative texture while number 8, the "Accueil" of Lulli by Corelli, is essentially Italian with the Corellian "walking bass" and Couperin's direction for notes égales, beginning at measure 11, carried through a sequential pattern.[14] Lully's thanks to

Ex. 21. Couperin, "Vol de Mercure," Apothéose de Lulli

Ex. 22. Couperin, "Descente Appollon," Apothéose de Lulli



Apollo, a sarabande, follow. Alternation of the two styles continues in the "Essai en forme d'ouverture."

A summary of this information follows. Note how, in almost every case, Couperin matches the style of the movement with an appropriate French or Italian time signature:

1. French (2)
2. French (3)
3. Italian (6/8)
4. French (2)
5. Italian (2/4)
6. (3)
7. Italian (6/8)
8. Italian (C)
9. French (3/4)

The two styles are clearly juxtaposed in the two airs for two violins which follow the "Essai." In the first of these, Lully plays the melody and is accompanied by Corelli; in the second, their roles are reversed (Ex. 23). Lully's air displays simple, diatonic melody while Corelli accompanies him with Italian violin figuration. When Corelli plays dessus, his tune begins with "affective" intervals, and, in the second half of the air, exhibits the same sort of violin figuration.

On a smaller scale, the French and Italian styles are contrasted in Couperin's music on the level of phrases and even bars. This is particularly evident in the Apothéose de Lulli, but it is also seen in the concerts. In the "Rondement" movement of the trio sonata with which the Apothéose concludes, French style is succeeded at measure 18 by Italian sequential "walking bass" and suspensions in the upper voices (Ex. 24). Another excellent example of this small scale juxtaposition is seen in the second "Vivement" movement of the final trio sonata, where Italian imitative trio texture is succeeded by French dotted rhythms (Ex. 25).

Ex. 23. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli

Air léger

POUR DEUX VIOLONS.

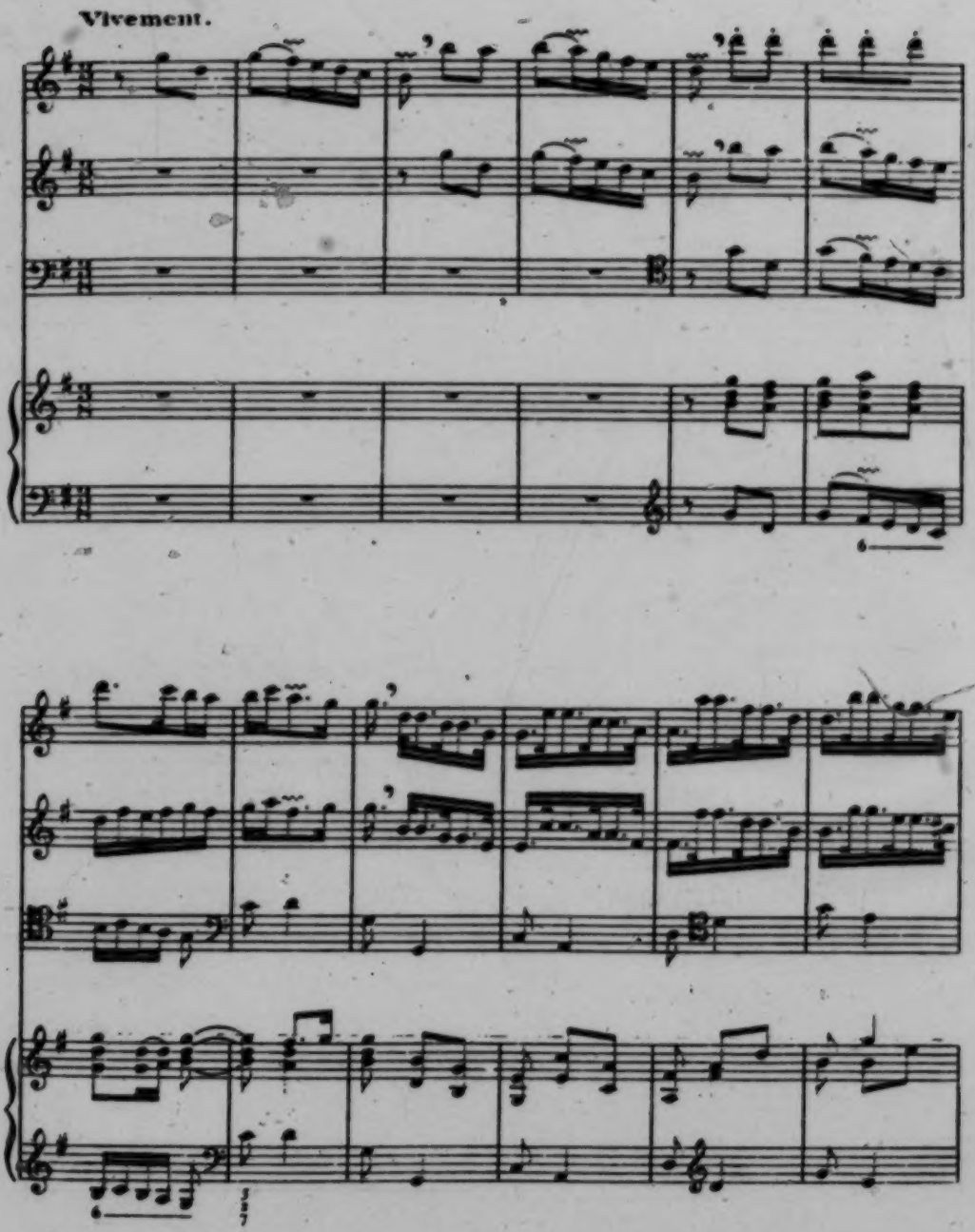
Lulli jouant le Sujet; et Corelli l'acompagnant.

Second Air.

Corelli jouant le Sujet à son tour, que Lulli acompagne.

Ex. 24. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Rondement"

Ex. 25. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Vivement"



Finally, we note that in the "Essai," French dotted rhythms are followed by Italian triplets.[15]

The second category of goûts-réunis, fusion, is also well represented in the Apothéose de Lulli. We have already noted two occurrences of this fusion, the mixture of French melodic shapes with Italian imitative texture in the "Descente", (see Ex. 3), and the blending of French dotted rhythms with Italian bass in the "Accueil".[16] In the final "Vivement" of the "Sonate en trio," French dotted rhythms are subjected to long sequential manipulation (Ex. 27). In the Air (number 2) we see a French dance melody treated sequentially (Ex. 28a), and subjected to "learned" Italian harmony through suspensions (Ex. 28b). Here then is les goûts-réunis as defined by Titon (see p. 71).

Many examples of this second type of union are seen in the concerts as well. The prelude to number 6, a prelude in the sonata da chiesa style, shows Italian melody tempered by French ornamentation (Ex. 26). And Couperin offers us a "Courante à l'italiéne" (in Concert No. 4)

Ex. 26. Couperin, Prelude to Concert No. 6 of Les Goûts-Réunis

which is an Italian corrente[17] exhibiting a French time signature, "3", French ornamentation (coulés, battements, etc.), and which is even subjected to French performance practice; Couperin writes "pointé-coulé" at the head of the movement, signifying notes inégales. (Ex. 29).

Ex. 27. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Vivement"

Ex. 28. Couperin, Apothéose de Lulli, "Air"

a)

b)

Ex. 29. Couperin, Concert No. 4 from Concerts Royaux

"Courante à l'italiéne"

An enumeration of all the instances of goûts-réunis in Couperin's music would in fact be endless. At this juncture two points need to be stressed:

1. That both juxtaposition, (on large and small scale), and fusion are equally characteristic aspects of les goûts-réunis. Couperin himself makes this point clear both in the preface to his Concerts of 1724, noting that the term only ". . . serves to mark the diversity of styles which one will find here assembled."[18] and in practice, as has been seen.

2. That fusion of the two styles consists of both Italian treatment of French music (imitative development, sequence, learned harmony, and violin figurations applied to French dance music), and French treatment of Italian music (French agréments, performance practice of notes inégales, and characteristic dotted rhythms imposed on the Italian sonata style).

Leclair and Vivaldi

A point which must be made before beginning our examination of goûts-réunis in Leclair's concertos is that Italian elements in these concertos come mostly from Vivaldi where in the music of Couperin the source is more often Corelli. This is a result of the time in which Leclair's concertos were written[19] for, as Pincherle notes, by 1725 the music of Vivaldi had eclipsed that of Corelli in France,[20] and it was natural for Leclair to model his concertos on those of the most famous concerto composer of his day.[21] The influence of Vivaldi ranges from general features such as the three movement form, the structure of the ritornellos,[22] the unison passage which frequently concludes these

ritornellos, and the kind of material given to the soloist[23] to more specific musical devices borrowed by Leclair. Kolneder notes that in several of Vivaldi's concertos, Adagio insertions are found in Allegro movements. For example in P 225,[24] " . . . a cadenza in arpeggios leads by way of a pedal point on E to a recitative-like section marked 'Adagio'."[25] In Leclair's Op. 10/3 this same procedure is seen in measures 93-98 of the first movement (Ex. 30). A striking instance of

Ex. 30 Leclair, Op. 10/3/i, (solo part)

Leclair's borrowing is seen in the first movement of his Op. 7/3, where the rising sequence of suspensions characterized by the eighth-and two sixteenth-notes rhythm (♩♬) and initiated by a rising fourth is but an elaborated version of a sequence from Vivaldi's Op. 4 (Ex.'s 31 and 32).

Leclair and les goûts-réunis

Writers of the 18th century recognized the union of the two styles in Leclair's music as the following series of quotes will show:

- On the importance of melody (the prime French directive) in Leclair's music:

Ex. 31. Leclair, Op. 7/3/i

Ex. 32. Vivaldi, Op. 4/4/i

> Messieurs de Lande, Mouret, de Bossuet, Couperin d'Agincourt, LeClerc, who have always maintained that the first merit of music is melody or beautiful song. . . .[26]

- On the French and Italian characteristics of his music:

> With regard to Leclair, conserving in his sonatas [French] national characteristics, through all the turns with which he knows how to embellish this genre of music . . . it all heralds the Corelli of France.[27]

- On "execution", or difficulty in performance on the violin:

> The glory of enriching it and adapting it to our [French] taste fell to Leclair.[28]

- On French elements in Leclair's concertos:

> The French turn of the majority of his phrases does not prevent there being some that are very agreeable.[29]

In the 20th century this attitude has continued:

> . . . it is to[Leclair]that the merit of having perfectly assimilated a foreign form to our art goes.[30]

> Independence of Italy without sacrifice of her special virtue--this was the French dream, and Leclair the first of his time to realize it completely.[31]

Bukofzer states that Jean-Marie Leclair ". . . actually achieved the fusion of the French and Italian style of which Couperin had only dreamed."[32] Our examination of goûts-réunis in Couperin's music shows that this is not exactly true, but it is true that Leclair's union of

the two styles is more extensive or comprehensive, incorporating many more elements of the two styles.[33] An examination of Leclair's concertos corresponding to the step by step delineation of French and Italian elements presented in Chapter III, followed by a study of juxtaposition and fusion in the concertos in the manner in which we approached Couperin's music, will perhaps illustrate the extent of les goûts-réunis in the concertos of Leclair.

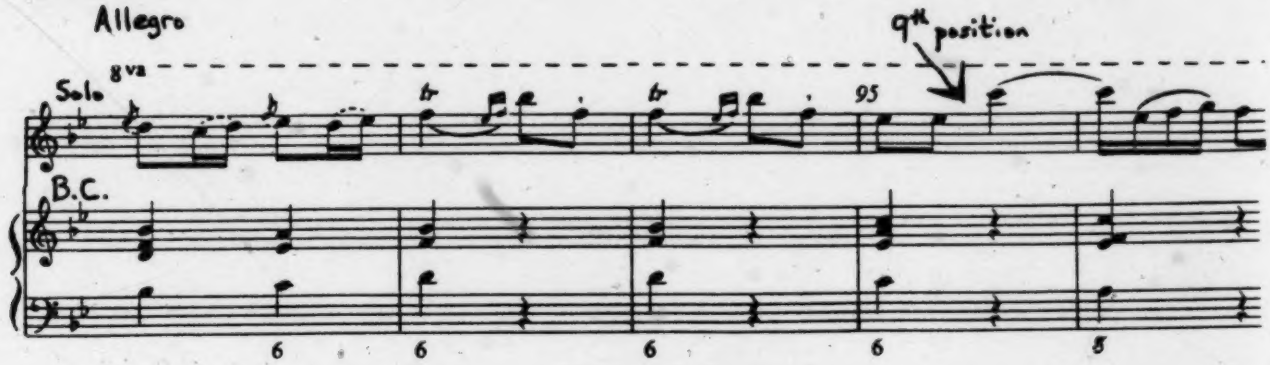
Materials, Grips, Clef

Leclair is known to have used the longer, Italian "Sonata" bow, for Marpurg states that he played with the "so-called Tartini bow."[34] As to Leclair's strings, bow grip, and violin grip we must assume that all followed contemporary Italian practice for he was trained by the Italian Somis.[35] Leclair used the Italian G clef on the second line in his sonatas and concertos.

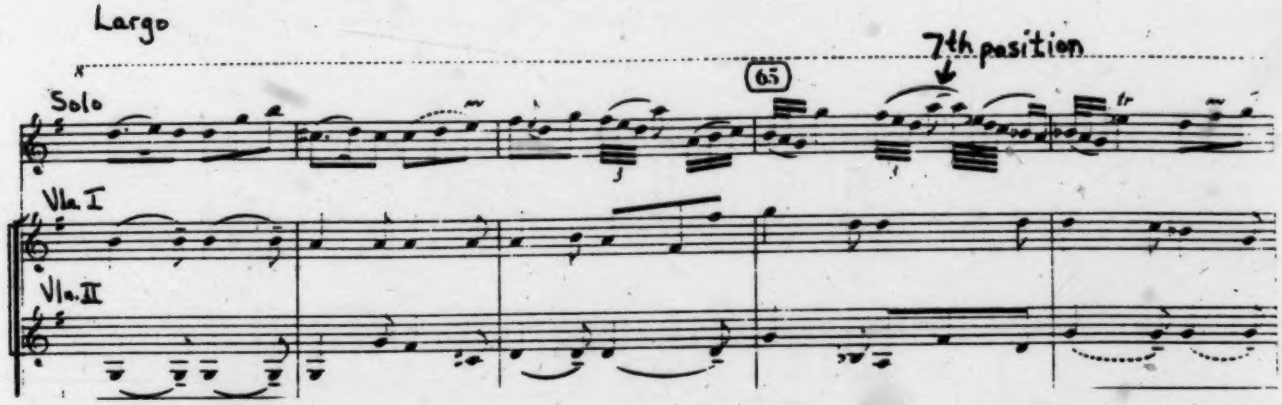
Sound Ideals

Leclair's violin writing in the concertos is, for the most part, Italian. Both the very low and very high ranges of the violin are frequently exploited. He was noted for his excellent intonation, so much so, that to play in the upper register became known as "jouer à la Leclair."[36] The highest point reached in the concertos is ninth position (Ex. 33) but he frequently reaches the seventh and, less often, eighth positions, sometimes approaching them by rather difficult leaps (Ex. 34). The lower range of the violin, specifically the G string, is frequently employed by the soloist (Ex.'s 35 and 36).

Ex. 33. Leclair, Op. 10/6/iii



Ex. 34. Leclair, Op. 10/5/ii



Ex. 35. Leclair, Op. 10/2/ii

Ex. 36. Leclair, Op. 10/3/iii, (solo part)

While we would expect the soloist to exceed the range prescribed by French theorists, (for example, Brossard and Dupont; see above, p. 39) it is somewhat surprising that the ripieno violins in Leclair's concertos frequently exceed this range. The first and second violins are often required to play in third position (Ex. 37). Note how this register is contrasted with the lower register, as the violins move immediately to the G string at measure 55. The ripieno violins are often required to play extensively on the G string. This is especially true of the frequent passages in which the solo is accompanied by only the violins, a favourite practice of Leclair's (Ex. 38).[37] If these concertos were written in the 1720's as Zaslaw suggests, then the range of tutti violins is the more remarkable for, as we have noted, Dupont's treatise of 1718 does not even mention the G string.[38]

But while Leclair's violin writing and playing was Italian in the extensive range,[39] it was French in the kind of sound he produced. Contemporaries called his playing "delicate" and "sweet" and it was contrasted in this regard with the playing of the Italians Locatelli and Guignon. In fact, a survey of contemporary discussions of Leclair's playing indicates that he achieved a goûts-réunis in performance,

Ex. 37. Leclair, Op. 10/2/i

Ex. 38. Leclair, Op. 10/6/i

combining Italian range and difficulty of execution with the sweet sound and distinctness of execution of the French:

> It is to this capable man that French violinists owe the most; he showed them how to conquer difficulties. . . .[40]

The author of this quote goes on to discuss an element of reserve in Leclair's playing, and concedes that it could be considered a fault but notes

> . . . are we not amply compensated for this by his knowledge and distinctness of execution.[41]

J.W. Lustig recounts a meeting between Leclair and Locatelli and compares their performance as follows:

> . . . the one [Leclair] knew with a not fully developed left hand how to conquer all hearts by his unusually pure and sweet tone; whereas the other [Locatelli], through technical feats and through scratching, drawing out of it, mainly tried to amaze his hearers.[42]

Finally, in the Mercure de France of June, 1738 we learn that the violinist Cupis

> . . . is very able to join the feeling, delicacy and sweetness of Leclair with the fire, brilliance, and the unexpected of Guignon.[43]

The Italian legato style also finds a place in Leclair's concertos. He no doubt learned the art of the long, sustained bow stroke from his master Somis, of whom, as we have noted, LeBlanc said

> . . . a single stroke of the bow lasted [so long] that the memory takes the breath away when one thinks of it.[44]

There are several points in the concertos where Leclair provides the opportunity for the soloist to exploit the long, sustained stroke (Ex.'s 39 and 40).

Whether Leclair's bowing was influenced by the then disappearing Rule of the Down Bow is difficult to say.[45] Unfortunately, as Zaslaw notes, the one source which might have conveyed this information is now lost. This is the Op. 1 collection of sonatas by Leclair's pupil Elizabeth Hauteterre which, according to an advertisement in the

Mercure de France of December, 1740,[46] contained an appendix including a treatise on bowing. Since Hauteterre was studying with Leclair at the time, this appendix would no doubt have presented the art of bowing as Leclair taught it.[47]

Ex. 39. Leclair, Op. 7/2/ii

Ex. 40. Leclair, Op. 10/6/ii

Performance

Leclair's violin writing certainly exhibits the kind of technical difficulty which the French associated with Italian music. His first book of sonatas (1723) was received with a kind of bafflement by the French musicians:

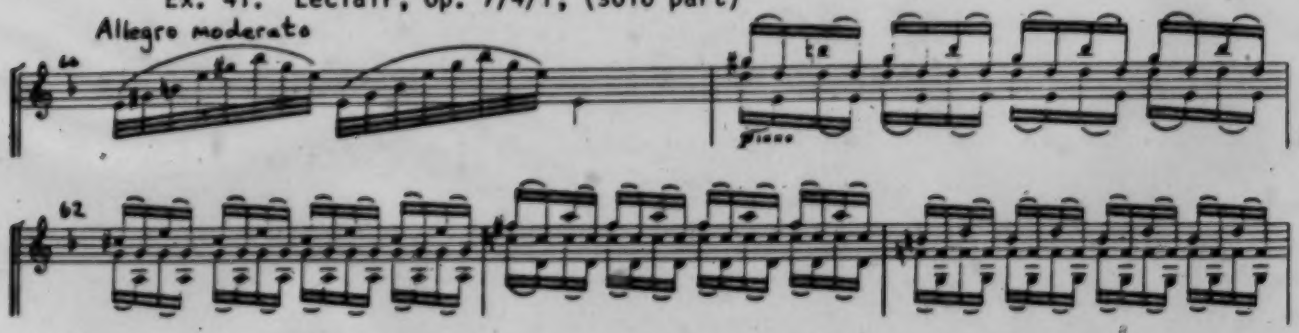
> . . . [It] appeared, at first, a kind of Algebra, capable of discouraging the most courageous musicians. . . .[48]

Leclair was no doubt aware of this problem for in the preface to his op. 2 collection of sonatas he states,

> . . . to merit the happiness of pleasing the public more generally, I have taken care to compose sonatas to the ability of more or less capable people. . . .[49]

Leclair's violin technique need not be discussed in detail here, for it has been thoroughly examined by several scholars[50] but its difficulty is due especially to the demands on the bow, (many variations and mixtures of legato, spiccato, détaché etc.), and to chordal writing, for which Leclair was especially praised by his contemporaries and which he carried to a further degree than any of his Italian or French contemporaries.[51] Passages such as the following abound in the two books (Ex.'s 41 and 42). In addition, many of the slow movements are written completely in chordal style.[52]

Ex. 41. Leclair, Op. 7/4/i, (solo part)



While the virtuosity displayed in these concertos is largely due to Leclair's own talent and inclination, there are two factors which no doubt contributed to the difficulties encountered in these works. The first is the taste for virtuosity in and of itself in 18th-century France. Contemporary criticisms of this taste have already been noted[53] and Striffling's observations are presented here:

> . . . one can say that the merit of difficulty conquered prevailed over all others . . . one asked the artist not so much to move as to astonish the listener. . . .[54]

Ex. 42. Leclair, Op. 10/6/iii, (solo part)

Out of this grew the taste for the concours d'exécution[55] which pitted two artists against each other:

> . . . the public were enamored of these "violin attacks," created by concert organizers for the purpose of making their concerts more attractive. By thus placing famous virtuosos, such as Guignon and Leclair, in battle, they were certain of turning away many at the door.[56]

Of course, these duels would have caused the violinist-composer to emphasize virtuosity.

The second factor which contributed to the virtuosity of Leclair's concertos was his meeting with Locatelli. De Bernis states that Leclair studied with Locatelli,[57] and Laurencie describes some of Locatelli's influence on Leclair.[58] It is certain that his encounters with this great virtuoso expanded Leclair's conception of virtuosity.

Ornamentation

In the area of ornamentation Leclair's concertos present a goûts-réunis approach. French aspects of his ornamentation include the careful notation of ornaments, the use of French ornaments or the "essential graces" (see Quantz, Chapter III, p. 51), his attitude towards excessive ornamentation, and notes inégales. Italian elements include the use of the cadenza and the Italian ornaments or "extempore graces," ". . . extensive artificial graces that accord with the harmony."[59]

While it would be untrue to say that Leclair writes out his ornaments fully, since he frequently uses only the cross symbol, +, (thus these ornaments remain unspecified),[60] the following excerpt should make clear his careful attention to detail. He carefully notes where the "essential" or French graces, represented here by the cross and grace note, are to be played, and writes out the "extempore" or Italian graces fully (Ex. 43).[61] The two styles of ornamentation are brought together here, as they are in the following example, where we see the "extensive artificial graces" in measures 64-66. (Ex. 44). The most outstanding use of the Italian graces is seen in the slow movement of Op. 7, no. 3 (Ex. 45).

Ex. 43. Leclair, Op. 10/3/ii, (solo part)

Ex. 44. Leclair, Op. 10/5/ii

With regard to the amount of ornamentation Leclair's attitude is comparable to those of the Frenchmen Lecerf, Bonnet and Bollioud quoted in Chapter III.[62] For Leclair, excessive ornamentation only "disfigures" the melody and destroys expression.[63]

But while Leclair is French in this attitude of reserve, he is nonetheless not totally "servile," as Rousseau describes it,[64] for the cadenza is a frequent occurrence in the concertos. In most cases the cadenza is fully written out but Leclair also provides opportunities for the soloist to provide his own figuration with the occasional fermata sign.[65] Half of the cadenzas are written over a pedal tone sustained by the continuo; the other half are unaccompanied.

The freedom with which Leclair approached the cadenza is seen in the first movement to Op. 10/4. In this movement there are three written out cadenzas: at measures 35-39 (unaccompanied), measures 99-101 (an adagio section with pedal), and measures 122-26 (unaccompanied). In addition there is a fermata over the dominant at measure 129 where it is at least theoretically possible to add even more. Leclair also presents an extraordinary written out cadenza in the slow movement of Op. 7/3 (Ex. 46).

Ex. 45. Leclair, Op. 7/3/ii.

None of the cadenzas are thematically related to the rest of the movements in which they are found.[66]

Ex. 46. Leclair, Op. 7/3/ii (Adagio)

Another French aspect of Leclair's concertos is the need for inégale performance of certain movements.[67] Zaslaw devotes an entire chapter of his dissertation to the question of notes inégales in Leclair's music and concludes, quite rightly, that they are applicable. The strongest proof he presents is that provided by internal evidence, in other words, within the music itself. For example, Zaslaw illustrates that the first part of the second movement of Op. 10/4 would require inégales on the part of the soloist for the simple reason that they are notated in the first violin part.[68] Further support for inégale performance is

provided by the fact that this is a gavotte, a French genre piece, which should therefore require French performance practice.[69]

A goûts-réunis approach is suggested by Corrette who, as has been proposed, describes French performance practice (notes inégales) applied to Italian music.[70] If this was truly the case, then inégales would no doubt have been applied to both Italian and French style movements in Leclair's concertos, written and performed at about the same time as Corrette's treatise (1730).

Harmony

With regard to the amount of dissonance and chromaticism in his concertos, Leclair would certainly have been classified as Italianate by his contemporaries. The following example will perhaps illustrate what Raguenet might have meant by "the most irregular dissonances,"[71] (Ex. 47).

We also note Raguenet's statement concerning French inability to perform Italian music with its dissonances, the French ". . . being accustomed to the most soft and natural intervals."[72] This was one of the reasons why Leclair's Op. 1 was at first considered "algebra", as the following quote shows:

> . . . [Leclair's Opus 1] appeared, at first, a kind of Algebra, capable of discouraging the most courageous musicians, but which was later thoroughly savoured, as soon as one learned to penetrate the principles of beautiful harmony in general, and those of this instrument in particular.[73]

It was especially Leclair's harmony which was, at first, foreign to the French.

Ex. 47. Leclair, Op. 7/3/ii

Remarks concerning Leclair's "savant" (read Italian) harmony are found in many other contemporary sources. For example, de Bernis writes in 1767:

> [Leclair] . . . succeeded in the first place . . . in conquering difficulties which he imposed on himself, by a theory which was much deeper than that which is found established, and which, consequently, demanded a much more learned practice.[74]

James Anthony has distinguished between French dissonance, achieved through ". . . French ornamentation and linear clashes . . ." and Italian, resulting from ". . . suspensions or sequences of 7th chords."[75] This second type obviously obtains in the following example, which is one of the outstanding instances of Leclair's sophisticated harmonic practice. Suspensions and seventh chords are used here in a very individual manner (Ex. 48).

Ex. 48. Leclair, Op. 7/5, (bridge joining second and third movements)

Another Italian aspect of Leclair's harmony is his use of chromatic progressions. It has been shown that diatonic harmony was associated in a general way with the French and especially Lully, chromatic progressions with the Italians.[76] At the end of the final movement of Op. 7/2 there is a sudden move from the home key of D major to D minor followed by a diminished seventh chord on G# and a V^2 chord producing a stepwise bass movement to G natural, a chromatic progression (Ex. 49). This example also represents an interesting adaptation of the unifying of all movements of a sonata to the concerto by way of a chromatic progression rather

than the more usual thematic correspondence,[77] for the same progression, I-i-viiø^7/V-V$^4_2$, is seen in the Adagio introduction which opens the concerto. A chromatic progression is used here as the unifying factor (Ex. 50).

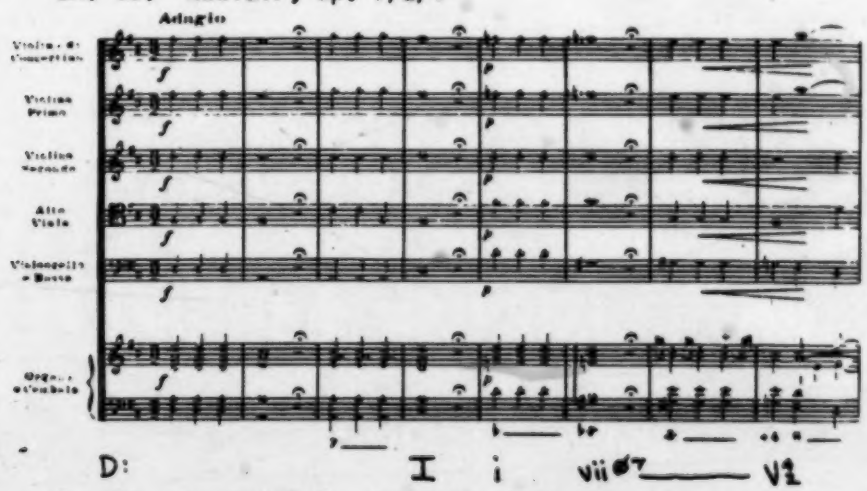
Ex. 49. Leclair, Op. 7/2/iii (Allegro)

Mr. L.T.'s comments on the poor intonation caused by frequent modulations in Italian music[78] are echoed by LeBlanc, discussing here Leclair's music:

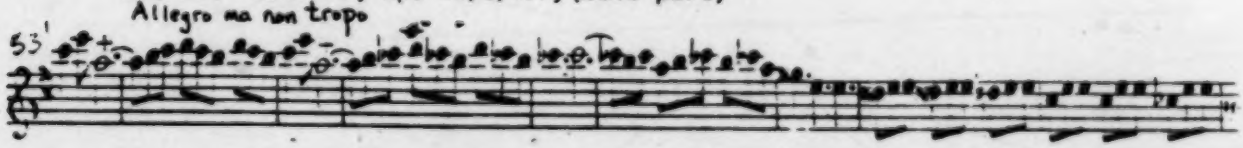
> The thirty-six sonatas in Leclair's books ceremoniously display the majesty of violin playing and the precision of chords of which it is capable, to the exclusion of the organ and harpsichord where it makes deplorable jarring in the passage from the minor to the major.[79]

LeBlanc complains here of the passage from minor to major modality which, along with the passage from major to minor, is a frequent occurrence in Leclair's music.[80] In fact, ambiguity of mode is a characteristic of Leclair's music[81] and is seen in numerous places in the concertos (Ex. 51, 52, and 53).

Ex. 50. Leclair, Op. 7/2/i



Ex. 51. Leclair, Op. 10/3/iii, (solo part)



LeBlanc continues his tirade against the music of Leclair with a criticism of the prominent chordal writing:

> . . . you the harpsichord and the organ have three quarters of your notes out of tune. A sophisticated ear could never listen to the player of these chords without imposing silence on the flawed intonation

Ex. 52. Leclair, Op. 10/6/ii

Ex. 53. Leclair, Op. 10/2/ii

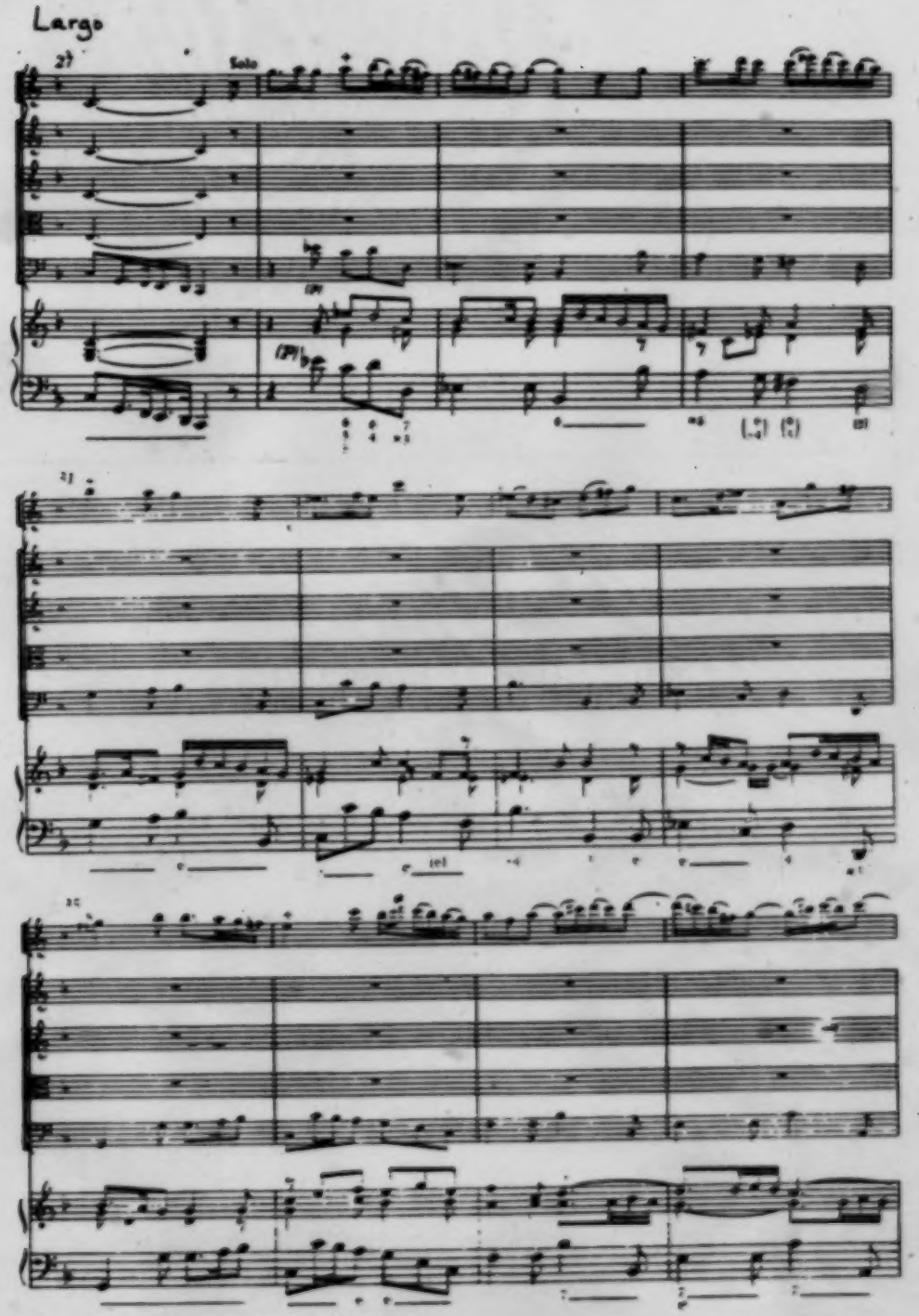
> of your instrument, and on the correspondence which the ear makes between so many chords which provoke the listener, instead of pleasing him.[82]

It is again temperament which causes problems, the inaccuracies making it impossible for the keyboard to be in tune in all the keys demanded by Leclair's music. The following example would no doubt have served as ample justification for LeBlanc in his criticism (Ex. 54). However it should be noted that LeBlanc may have used an older and less flexible kind of temperament and Leclair a more advanced and flexible one. This would account for Leblanc's criticism.

Ex. 54. Leclair, Op. 10/1/ii

A further Italian aspect of Leclair's music is seen in his modulations, which are very free even by what Raguenet and J.-J. Rousseau would have considered Italian standards.[83] Leclair's modulations are strikingly original and rarely are they "slavishly prepared,"[84] as the following examples illustrate (Ex.'s 55 and 56). In the first of these examples (from Op. 7/5), the music moves rapidly from its arrival on C major in

Ex. 55. Leclair, Op. 7/5/ii



measure 27 to C minor and then, G minor (m. 35). In Ex. 56, the sudden move from vi to I (D minor to F major) is reminiscent of the unprepared modulations characteristic of Vivaldi noted in Chapter III (p. 62).

Although much of Leclair's harmonic practice is Italian in the concertos, the use of the chaconne bass, frequently in its chromatically descending form, is French, (Ex.'s 57 and 58).

Ex. 56. Leclair, Op. 7/4/i

Tempo

In the concertos Leclair uses only Italian tempo designations[85] but he exhibits the French tendency towards moderate tempos. His tempo markings in the concerto often serve to slow down the fast movements and to

Ex. 57. Leclair, Op. 7/3/ii

Ex. 58. Leclair, Op. 10/6/ii

speed up the slow movements, resulting in what Laurencie called a "unification of tempos".[86] The tempo markings used by Leclair to moderate speed of fast movements in the concertos include: Allegro assai,[87] Allegro moderato, Allegro ma non tropo (sic), Allegro ma non presto, Allegro ma poco. (There is perhaps a development of this aspect from Op. 7 to Op. 10: while Op. 7 has five Allegro, two Vivace, and five modified Allegro movements, Op. 10 shows four Allegro and eight modified Allegro movements). Moderation of slow movements is accomplished by the terms grazioso or gratioso[88] and the use of the term Andante; we also find the marking Aria grazioso non troppo adagio (Op. 7/6). (There is again a development of sorts between the two books: Op. 7 has

three Adagio movements; in op. 10 there are none and in their place we find four Andante movements.)

This precision of tempo markings is seen in the music of Vivaldi and Torelli before him.[89] We may thus call it an Italian characteristic which is used here for a French goal, the moderation of tempos.

We may also note Leclair's own statements regarding moderate tempo:

> . . . by the term allegro I do not mean movement which is too fast; it is a cheerful movement. Those who press it too much, especially in the character pieces, as in the majority of fugues in common time, render the melody vulgar, instead of conserving its nobility.[90]

In the second aspect of tempo discussed in Chapter III, precision of measure, there is a basic contradiction. While Leclair himself calls for precision, Lustig's account of Leclair's own playing indicates that he took his tempos very freely.

In the preface to his second Recreation de Musique (Op. 8, published about the same time as his first set of concertos, 1737, Leclair states,

> This little work can only be as well played as the people who play it are capable of taste, finesse in playing, and precision of measure.[91]

Leclair also stresses precision of measure in the preface to his Op. 9 sonatas (1743)[92] but Lustig's account indicates that he actually played otherwise:

> . . . in the matter of keeping a strict rhythm, which, unfortunately, is not a strong point with French musicians, it was easy to observe how [Leclair], when playing his solos, easily got off the track, unless he was very careful.[93]

This aspect of his performance was evidently French.

Meter

Leclair uses both French and Italian time signatures in the concertos. As in the concertos of Vivaldi,[94] the most commonly used signatures are the so called Italian signatures,[95] "C" and "3/4," appearing twelve and five times respectively. The Italian signatures "2/4," "6/8," and "3/2" each appear twice.

The most frequently used French signature is "3," appearing in four slow movements.[96] The French "¢" and "6/4" each appear twice.[97] The "3/8 signature, considered the property of both nations, appears four times.

While it may perhaps be simplistic to call Leclair's use of both French and Italian signatures a goûts-réunis, this thesis has set out to show the presence of French and Italian elements in Leclair's concertos and it is clear that, in the area of meter, both styles are well represented.

Juxtaposition and Fusion

As in the music of Couperin, les goûts-réunis in the concertos of Leclair may be seen as having two general aspects: juxtaposition and fusion. Large scale juxtaposition occurs in many of the concertos and is seen especially in the contrast between Italian outer movements and French dance-based middle movements. This contrast is very clear in the first concerto of the Op. 7 set where the first movement is an Italian fugal allegro in common time, the middle movement is a French sarabande in the French meter "3" and exhibiting the kind of simple,

graceful melody for which the French were noted, and the final movement a Vivaldian vivace in "3/4" (Ex. 59). Similar examples of large scale juxtaposition with Italian outer movements surrounding a movement in French style are seen in Opp. 7/3 and 6 and Opp. 10/1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.

Ex. 59. Leclair, Op. 7/1 (themes from first, second and third movements - solo part)

Small-scale juxtaposition is also seen in Leclair's concertos. In the finale of Op. 7/3, a menuet-like movement,[98] the French dance style of the first eight bars is succeeded in measures 9-16 by Italian sequence (Ex. 60).[99] In the slow movement of Op. 10/2, the French dotted style of tutti (Ex. 61a) is followed by Italianate figuration by the soloist ("extempore graces") (Ex. 61b).

The second part of goûts-réunis, fusion, is one of the outstanding aspects of Leclair's music. It is here that we observe the joining of French melodic style with Italian harmonic and compositional technique

which was seen by 18th century musicians and critics as representing union of the two styles.[100]

There are many examples of this Italian treatment of French melody in these concertos. Dance movements are frequently subjected to sequential development. In the slow movement of Op. 7/1, a French sarabande, the initial idea of the piece (Ex. 62a) is sequentially developed at measures 40-45 (Ex. 62b).

Ex. 60. Leclair, Op. 7/3/iii

Ex. 61. Leclair, Op. 10/2/ii

Leclair, Op. 10/2/ii

Ex. 62. Leclair, Op. 7/1/ii

a

b

An important part of Italian compositional technique is applied here to a piece of French music. In the second movement of Op. 10/2 we see a mixture of the French dotted style and sophisticated Italian harmonic practice (see Ex. 61a). A more outstanding example of this same approach (French rhythm and Italian harmony) is seen in the slow movement of Op. 7/3 where the ninth chords combined with the bass line in dotted rhythm produce a powerful effect. (see Ex. 47).

This movement may rightfully be considered to represent les goûts-réunis in a most complete way for it combines many of the elements of both styles into an extraordinarily expressive whole. In addition to French rhythm and Italian harmony, we have seen Italian ornamentation (Ex. 45) the French chaconne bass (Ex. 57), and the cadenza (Ex. 46) joined in this single movement. It is perhaps music like this which led Bukofzer to conclude that Leclair ". . . actually achieved the fusion of the French and Italian style of which Couperin had only dreamed."[101]

Leclair also exhibits, as does Couperin, a fusion through French treatment of Italian music. This is seen not in the use of notes inégales in an Italian movement (as Couperin does in his "Courante à l'italiéne")[102] or in French agréments imposed on the Italian sonata style,[103] but in the use of sections in opposite modes within a concerto allegro movement. This idea comes out of the French dance tradition in which a pair

of dances will frequently be in opposite modes (for example major-minor). It is seen in the finale of Op. 7/5 where there is an extended section in the major mode, (the concerto is in A minor), beginning at measure 168. This section has its own, new melodic material and a complete, self-sufficient form, which may be outlined as ‖ : A : ‖ : B : ‖ . The combination of this dance form in the opposite mode with the ritornello form which precedes it gives this movement a unique overall form. In fact the entire movement can be seen as a pair of French dances in alternate modes in which the first of the pair is subjected to Italian ritornello design.

In the finale of Op. 7/6, this procedure is carried even further for this movement is an Italian giga in 6/8 (where the finale of Op. 7/5 was a French dance), which has an extended section in the opposite mode, A minor. Here the French practice of alternate modes is applied to an Italian dance, another example of goûts-réunis in Leclair's concertos.[104]

Conclusions

It has been shown that Leclair's concertos appeared at a time when the violin, after centuries of neglect, first came to prominence in France with the influx of Italian violin music around the turn of the 18th century. As the violin grew in importance and developed a solo repertoire, an interest in virtuosity developed among the French in the first half of the 18th century. Leclair's concertos can be seen as an important manifestation of these developments.

The 18th-century quarrels over the relative merits of French and Italian music have been outlined and the French aesthetic position defined. Out of these quarrels grew the idea of a joining of the two

styles which would result in "the perfection of music." While Leclair made no verbal or written statement about joining the two styles in his music, he was no doubt aware of the controversies, and it is probable they helped shape his compositional approach.

The specific musical meanings of le goût-français and le goût italien in the 17th and 18th centuries have been described. These are shown to consist of differences in violin materials, bow and violin grips, clefs, sound ideals, performance, ornamentation, harmony, tempo, and meter.

The history and meaning of les goûts-réunis has been explored. For writers in the 18th century it seems to have meant the joining of French melody and Italian harmony. In the music of Couperin the union of the two styles is found to have two aspects: juxtaposition and fusion. Fusion is shown to have two aspects itself: French treatment of Italian music (French agréments, notes inégales, and characteristic dotted rhythms mixed with the Italian sonata style), and Italian treatment of French music (imitative development, sequence, sophisticated harmony, and Italian violin figuration mixed with the French dance style).

It has been shown that Leclair modelled his concertos on those of Vivaldi while retaining many French elements. His union of the two styles has been shown to be comprehensive, incorporating many of the specifically French and specifically Italian elements described in Chapter III. The second movement of Leclair's Op. 7/3 is singled out as one of his finest realizations of les goûts-réunis, joining French rhythm and Italian harmony, the French chaconne bass and Italian ornamentation and the cadenza into an intensely expressive and unified whole. Finally, Leclair's unique treatment of ritornello form has been discussed. It

has been shown to be, in the two cases at least, a joining of French binary dance form with Italian ritornello form. This is perhaps one of the most subtle and intriguing aspects of Leclair's union of the French and Italian styles.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Philibert Jambe-de-Fer, Epitome Musical . . . (Lyon, 1556), cited in Marc Pincherle, Feuillets d'histoire du Violon (Paris: G. Legouix, 1927), p. 9. "Nous appellons violes celles desquelles les gentilz hommes, marchantz, et autres gens de vertuz passent leur temps . . . L'autre sorte s'appelle violon, et c'est celuy duquel on use en dancerie communément et à bonne cause . . . il se trouve peu de personnes qui en use, si non ceux qui en vivent, par leur labeur."

2. Marin Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle (Paris, 1636), facsimile ed., 3 vols. (Paris: Editions du Centre National, 1965), vol. 3, p. 177. ". . . cet instrument est le plus propre de tous pour faire danser."

3. Sebastien de Brossard, "Violino," Dictionaire de Musique, 2nd. ed., (Paris, 1705), facsimile ed. (Hilversum: F. Knuf, 1965), p. 220. "Cet Instrument a le Son naturellement fort éclatant et fort gay, ce qui le rend tres-propre pour animer les pas de la danse."

4. Date given by James Anthony, French Baroque Music: from Beaujoyeaulx to Rameau, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 17. Saint-Foix dates their formation Nov. 23, 1331 in his article "Sonate et Symphonie," Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire (hencefort Lavignac, Encyclopédie), II vols., ed. by Lavignac and Laurencie (Paris: Delagrave, 1913-31), II/5, p. 3140. LaBorde, with surprising accuracy, dates the guild's formation "around 1330," Essai sur la Musique ancienne et moderne, 4 vols. (Paris, 1780), vol. I, p. 415.

5. LaBorde, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 416-17. LaBorde also notes here that in 1395 the Provost of Paris ordained that there should be ". . . prohibitions against speaking, acting or singing in a public place or elsewhere where a scandal may be caused punishable by a fine, two months in prison, and being reduced to bread and water." (". . . defenses de rien dire, représenter ou chanter dans les places publiques ou ailleurs qui pût causer quelque scandale à peine d'amende, de deux mois de prison, et d'être reduits au pain et à l'eau.")

6. Dictionnaire de Trevoux (Paris, 1743), cited by Anthony, op. cit., p. 294. This definition seems rather strange since by this time (1743), the violin had become quite respectable (see below).

7. Marc Pincherle, Les Violonistes: Compositeurs et Virtuoses (Paris: Renouard, 1922), p. 12. See also Pincherle, Feuillets . . ., pp. 7-8 for a list of some of the payments given and functions served.

8. Anthony, op. cit., p. 294.

9. Lefort-Pincherle, "Le Violon," in Lavignac, Encyclopédie, II/3, p. 1798.

10. Marcelle Benoit, Versailles et les Musiciens du Roi (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1971). Raguenet addressed this issue in his Parallèle des Italiens et des Français (1702), noting that the best violinists in Italy ". . . are generally paid 300 or 400 pistoles apiece for a month , , , This is the commonest pay in Italy, and this encouragement is one reason why they have more masters there than we have with us. We despise 'em in France as people of a mean profession; in Italy they are esteemed as men of note and distinction. There they raise very considerable fortunes, whereas with us they get but a bare livelihood." Cited in Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era (New York: Norton, 1965), p. 127.

11. Marc Pincherle, "The Social Conditions of Violinists in France befor the Eighteenth Century," translated by O. King, The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 8 (1922), p. 198.

12. Benoit, op. cit., pp. 201-02.

13. Ibid.

14. Whether Louis actively discouraged the playing of Italian music in France in conjunction with Lully is a matter of some dispute. It has been generally thought that Louis worked with Lully to achieve this (see, for example Charles Price, "The Codification and Perseverance of a French National Style of Composition between 1687-1733," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1973, p. 1 and Georges Piccoli, Trois Siècles de l'Histoire du Violon, Nice: G. Delrieu, 1954, pp. 44-45). Julie Anne Sadie notes, however, that Louis XIV was very interested in foreign musicians such as Mascitti, Piani, and Westhoff and thus may not have, as is generally thought, conspired with Lully. See J.A. Sadie, The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), pp. 8 and 15.

15. Of course Italian opera had been known in France almost from its inception since Rinuccini and Caccini visited the French court between 1601 and 1615. See Martin Cooper, "France," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (henceforth The New Grove) (London: MacMillan, 1980), vol. 6, p. 746. There were also the numerous attempts of Mazarin to establish Italian opera in France in the middle of the 17th century.

16. The story has been conveyed by William Newman, The Sonata in the Baroque Era, third ed. (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 235; Laurencie, L'Ecole Française de Violon: de Lully à Viotti, 3 vols. (Paris, 1922-24), reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1971), vol. 1, p. 15, footnote 5; and Authur Pougin, Le Violon: les Violonistes et la Musique de Violon du XVI^{e} au XVIII^{e} Siecles (Paris: Fischbacher, 1924), p. 244.

17. "Sonate pour deux flûtes allemandes, 2 dessus de violon, une basse de viole, une basse de violon à cinq cordes, un clavecin, et un teorbe." On this work, see J.A. Sadie's article "Charpentier and the early French Ensemble Sonata" in Early Music, vol. 7 (1979), pp. 330ff. and Sadie, The Bass Viol, pp. 143-51.

18. Anthony, op. cit., p. 301.

19. See Couperin's "Preface" to Les Nations in Oeuvres Complètes de François Couperin (henceforth Couperin, Oeuvres) (Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1933), vol. 9, pp. 7-8 and Wilfrid Mellers, François Couperin and the French Classical Tradition (New York: Dover, 1968), p. 103.

20. Cited by Pincherle, Les Violonistes, p. 50. ". . . tous les compositeurs de Paris avaient, en ce temps-la, la fureur de composer des sonates à la mode italienne."

21. Newman, op. cit., p. 365. Newman gives an excellent outline of the beginnings of the sonata in France (pp. 351-54), though, of course, he does not incorporate Sadie's more recent research on Charpentier's sonata.

22. Anthony, op. cit., p. 321.

23. On private concerts and the dissemination of Italian music in France see Robert Dean, "The Music of Michele Mascitti (ca. 1664-1760): A Neapolitan Violinist in Paris" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1970), pp. 29-36, 58-73 and Anthony, op. cit., pp. 289-92.

24. Michel Corrette, Le Maitre de Clavecin (1753), cited by Robert Preston in the "Preface" to his edition of Leclair's Op. 5 sonatas (New Haven: AR Editions, 1968), p. x.

25. Pierre Daval, La Musique en France au XVIII^{e} Siècle (Paris: Payot, 1961), p. 23.

26. Neal Zaslaw, "Materials for the Life and Works of Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1970), pp. 214-15.

27. Lefort-Pincherle, "Le Violon," p. 1798. "Cet instrument n'est pas noble en France . . . on voit peu de gens de condition qui en jouent . . . Mais enfin un homme de condition qui s'avise d'en jouer ne déroge pas."

28. Cited by Laurencie, L'Ecole . . ., vol. 3, p. 193. ". . . seigneurs de la plus grande élévation."

29. David Boyden, The History of the Violin from its Origins to 1761. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 211.

30. Sebastien de Brossard, Fragments d'une Méthode de Violon (Paris, c. 1712); Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, Méthode facile pour apprendre à jouer du Violon (Paris, 1712); Pierre Dupont, Principes de Violon (Paris, 1718); Michel Corrette, L'Ecole d'Orphée: Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du Violon (Paris, 1738), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972).

31. Marc Pincherle, Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (Paris: La Colombe, 1952), pp. 28-29.

32. Constant Pierre, Histoire du Concert Spirituel (Paris: Heugel, 1975), p. 221.

33. Anthony outlines the history of the cantata in France (op. cit., pp pp. 359-74), noting that most of the important collections were composed between 1706 and 1730. Again Charpentier figures as the "first" French composer to the use the form, his Orphée descendant aux enfers dating from the early 1680's (see pp. 860-61).

34. Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era: from Monteverdi to Bach (New York: Norton, 1947), p. 248.

35. Translation by Price, op. cit., pp. 28-29. Price reproduces Aubert's preface in full here.

36. Cited in Howard Brofsky, "Notes on the Early French Concerto," Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol. 19 (Spring, 1966), p. 90. "Il y en a certainement de fort beaux, mais ils ont mis notre jeunesse dans le goût de bruit et du grand bruit, et l'on y perd certainement, du côté de la délicatesse, de l'élégance et de la sensibilité."

37. Hubert LeBlanc's Defense de la Basse de Viole (Amsterdam, 1740), can be seen as a result of this confrontation, with LeBlanc coming down squarely on the side of tradition. (LeBlanc's Defense is reprinted in La Revue Musicale in November and December, 1927, January, February, March and June, 1928.

38. Pierre Crozat was the brother of Antoine, who was described by Saint-Simon as the richest man in Paris. Dean, op. cit., p. 63, footnote 157.

39. The duc d'Orleans may have acquired this taste from Charpentier, who, according to Titon du Tillet, was the duke's music teacher. Le Parnasse François (Paris, 1732), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), p. 490.

40. Dean, op. cit., p. 60.

41. See Laurencie, "Jacques Aubert et les premiers Concertos français de Violon," S.I.M. Revue Musicale (1906). Laurencie notes that it was probably due to his abilities in the Italian style that Aubert long enjoyed the favors of the duc de Bourbon, p. 443.

42. Marc Pincherle, Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque, translated by Christopher Hatch (New York: Norton, 1957), p. 250.

43. Dean, op. cit., p. 79. The information on Emanuel and dall'Abaco presented here is drawn from Dean's dissertation, pp. 78-79, 121.

44. Dean, op. cit., p. 79.

45. Méthode claire, certaine, et facile pour apprendre à chanter la Musique, (Amsterdam, n. d.), facsimile reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976).

46. Date given in Thompson's article "Jean Rousseau", The New Grove, vol. 16, p. 270.

47. Cited in André Pirro, J.S. Bach, translated by Mervyn Savill, (London: Calder, 1957), p. 38.

48. Anthony, op. cit., p. 23. See also Pierre, op. cit., p. 232.

49. Anthony, p. 24.

50. Dean, op. cit., p. 122.

51. Somis performed at the Concert Spirituel on April 2 and May 14, 1733 (Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 280). Johann Stamitz performed one of his own violin concertos at the Concert Spirituel on September 8, 1754 (Pierre, op. cit., p. 268).

52. Titon du Tillet, op. cit., p. 677.

53. Pincherle, Vivaldi, p. 250.

54. See Anthony, op. cit., p. 304, where he discusses this problem and notes such use of terms in a title as "Suites de Concert de Simphonie en Trio," (Jacques Aubert).

55. Laurencie cites the Mercure of December, 1730, ". . . Monsieur Guignon . . . played a concerto of his own composition which was greatly applauded," L'Ecole, vol. 2, p. 45 ". . . Le sieur Guignon . . . executa un concerto de sa composition qui fut très applaudi."

56. J.F. Paillard, "Les Concertos de Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné," Chigiana, Vol 21 (1964), p. 48.

57. Brofsky, op. cit., p. 89.

58. Brofsky, p. 88. Anthony, op. cit., p. 312.

59. For example, the manuscript sources would have to be accurately dated. The dates which follow are dates of publication.

60. For the full title see Dean, op. cit., p. 119, footnote 62. The four concertos are presented in a modern edition in volume 2 of Dean's dissertation and discussed in detail in volume 1, pp. 189-201.

61. Dean, vol. 1, p. 190.

62. Laurencie, "La Musique française," Lavignac, Encyclopédie, II/3, p. 1518.

63. Pincherle, Vivaldi, p. 254.

64. While Anthony says three of the concertos are slow-fast-slow (SFS), three are FSF, (op. cit., p. 312), Laurencie says four are FSF, two SFF, ("La Musique Française," p. 1534), and Paillard states that three are SFF, ("Les premiers Concertos français pour Instruments à Vent," La Revue Musicale, 226 (1955), pp. 148-49).

65. Pincherle, Vivaldi, p. 254; Anthony, op. cit., p. 312.

66. For example, the second and third movements of Op. 15/1, the first and third movements of Op. 15/2, and the second movement of Op. 15/3 are all in ritornello form.

67. Anthony, op. cit., p. 312.

68. Paillard, "Les premiers concertos . . .," p. 157.

69. Brofsky, op. cit., p. 88.

70. On the title page Boismortier notes that he has been obliged to consult the cellist Mr. L'Abbé to be sure that the music works well on the cello.

71. The two Vivaldi concertos carry the inscription "Questo Concerto si puo fare ancora cor l'Hautbois," (Pincherle, Antonio Vivaldi et la Musique instrumentale, 2 vols., Paris: Floury, 1948, reprint, New York: Johnson Reprints, 1968, vol. 2, p. 17). On the third concerto of Leclair's Op. 7 set, we read "Les solo peuvent se jouer sur la FlOte allemande ou hautbois").

72. Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 3, p. 135.

73. Paillard lists 42 works bearing the title "concerto" by Boismortier alone between 1727 and 1736, ("Les premiers Concertos," p. 145).

74. Paillard lists 21 concertos comiques by Corrette between c. 1732 and c. 1742 ("Les premiers Concertos," pp. 146-47). These works are described by Brofsky as ". . . light works designed for performance in the theatre and containing variations on folk and popular songs, but obviously not concertos in the accepted sense of the word." (op. cit., p. 88).

75. Paillard, op. cit., p. 161. ". . . les «vents» et non pas le violon ont introduit en France la forme du concerto."

76. Paillard, p. 162. But how many of these works are true concertos?

77. Georges de Saint-Foix, "Sonate et Symphonie," Lavignac Encylopédie, II/5, p. 3141. ". . . une personnalité aussi marquante que celle de J.M. Leclair contribue, dans une large part, au succès du concerto."

Chapter II

1. The term was coined by Francois Couperin in the title of a set of ten concerts published in 1724, Les Goûts-Réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts. It does not seem to have been used by other writers in the 18th century, but 20th century writers have used it to designate the union of French and Italian styles in the music of Couperin, Leclair and others (see Daval's chapter titled "Les Goûts-Réunis" in "La Musique . . ." and Georgia Cowart, The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music 1600-1750, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981; Chapter V, "Les Goûts-Réunis."

2. Cowart, op. cit., p. 1. See also Edward Whiting Fox et al, "France," Colliers Encyclopedia (New York: Macmillan, 1982), vol. 10, pp. 286-87.

3. Martin Cooper, "France," The New Grove, vol. 6, p. 746. The importance of this Italian influence through Catherine de Medici on French music was noted by Titon du Tillet, Le Parnasse François (1732), p. xlj.

4. Cowart, op. cit., p. 2.

5. Ibid. This attitude of mutal appreciation was rare in music and, with the exceptions of Mersenne and Maugurs, did not appear until the time of Couperin.

6. Cowart, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

7. See the quote below, Chapter III, p. 49.

8. André Maugurs, Response faite à un Curieux sur le Sentiment de la Musique d'Italie (Rome, 1639), pp. 4-6.

9. Maugurs contrasts the music of the two nations in the manner of arranging choirs, types of voices used, the manner of singing, the ability of the Italians to perform in perfect ensemble, the emphasis on the violin in Italy, Italian freedom in composition as opposed to the pedantic approach of the French, and the high regard for instrumental music in Italy, where the French prefer vocal music.

10. Anthony, French Baroque Music . . ., p. 48.

11. Cowart, op. cit., p. 13.

12. The Fronde was named after the French word fronde which means sling, The first Frondeurs stoned government windows. The Fronde was an ". . . attempt by great nobles and holders of traditional judicial offices (noblesse de la robe) to check the centralizing tendencies of the French monarchies." John B. Wolfe, "The Fronde," Colliers Encyclopedia, vol. 10, p. 427.

13. Cited by Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, p. 150. A large part of Perrin's letter to the Archbishop of Turin (from which this quote is taken) is reprinted in the introduction to Pomone, vol. 3 of Chefs d'oeuvres Classiques de l'Opéra français (New York: Broude Brothers, 1971), pp. 4-6.

14. Bukofzer, p. 150. It is interesting to note that this period, the 1660's, can be considered the most creative decade in the history of French literature, the French art par excellence, for it was during these years that many of Molière's masterpieces, Boileau's first satires, La Rochefoucauld's Maxims, Racine's Andromaque, and the first collection of La Fontaine's Fables appeared. W.G. Moore, "French Literature: The 17th Century," Encyclopaedia Brittanica (Chicago: W. Benton, 1977), vo. 9, p. 888.

15. Cowart, op. cit., p. 21.

16. See Cowart, pp. 19-20 and Marie-Françoise Bloch, "L'Influence du Goût italien sur l'Art des Forqueray," Luth et Musique Ancienne, vol. 1 (November, 1977), p. 26.

17. Cowart, p. 64.

18. Ibid.

19. Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, L'Art Poétique (1674), in Collection Littéraire: XVII^{e} Siecle, ed. by Lagarde and Michard (Paris: Bordas, 1966), p. 340. "Aimez donc la raison: que toujours vos écrits / Empruntent d'elle seule et leur lustre et leur prix."

20. For example, in literature (theatre), one had to observe the rules of time, place, and action. Time - the action all occurs within a period of 24 hours; Place - the action all occurs in one place; Action - only one action is described. Similarly, the theories of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture were based on reason and a set of rules. See Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700 (Baltimore: Penguin, 1954), p. 242.

21. Maria Rika Maniates, " 'Sonate que me veux-tu?': The Enigma of French Musical Aesthetics in the 18th Century," Current Musicology, 9 (1969), p. 137, footnote 4. F.E. Sparshott gives the source of the theory of imitation as Plato, Republic and Epinomis, ("Aesthetics of Music," The New Grove, vol. 1, p. 126). Of course, the adoption of this theory is essentially a result of the overriding urge to justify all the arts by ancient standards.

22. This is a simplification. For a more extended definition of the term, see Maniates, op. cit., p. 120.

23. Belle nature is perhaps best defined by La Motte-Houdard: "It is thus necessary to understand this word nature to mean a select nature, that is, qualities worthy of attention, and things which create agreeable impressions." Reflexions sur la Critique, cited in Jules Ecorcheville, De Lulli à Rameau: l'Esthétique Musicale (Paris, 1906), reprint (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), pp. 4-5. ("Il faut donc entendre par ce mot de nature une nature choisie, c'est-à-dire des caractères dignes d'attention, et à des objets qui peuvent faire des impressions agréables.")

24. Benigne de Bacilly, Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter (1668), cited in Laurencie, Le GoÛt musical en France (Paris, 1905), reprint (Geneva, 1970), p. 149. ". . . l'on trouve mauvais un air où l'auteur a oublié de mettre les notes élevées sur des paroles qui signifient des choses hautes, comme le ciel, les étoiles, ou des notes basses sur les mots terre, mer, fontaine; en sorte qu'on s'imaginent que le chant est mal appliqué aux paroles s'il n'exprime le sens de chaque mot en particulier."

25. La Motte-Houdard cited in Ecorcheville, op. cit., p. 5. ". . . nous ne goûterions pas un ouvrage s'il n'était conforme à ce jugement du naturel du coeur humain. . . . Je veux bien admirer un auteur pourvu qu'il reste souvent dans ma sphère . . . ma mesure est ce qu'il me plait d'appeler naturel."

26. Ecorcheville, op. cit., p. 12.

27. Some indication of the lowly place accorded music is seen in the remark of Fontenelle (1657-1757), who placed music on the level of things ". . . which make no sense: the world, women, music, and acrobats." H. Striffling, Esquisse d'une Histoire du GoÛt musical en France au XVIII^{e} Siècle (Paris: Delagrave, 1912), reprint (New York: AMS Press, 1978), p. 82.

28. Maniates, op. cit., p. 123.

29. Ibid. The importance of declamation as a model in instrumental music is seen in Blainville's evaluation of Tartini's concertos: "His concertos are truly the triumph of that instrument which seems, then, to give a fine speech. . .," cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole . . ., vol. 3, pp. 199-200. ("Ses concertos sont vraiment le triomphe de cet instrument qui semble alors déclamer un bon discours. . .")

30. Arthur Hutchings, The Baroque Concerto, third revised ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 190.

31. Lecerf cited in Striffling, op. cit., p. 81. "La symphonie est la partie la moins importante de la musique. . . . la première est la plus essentielle est celle du chanteur."

32. Noel-Antoine Pluche, Spectacle de la Nature (1731-47), cited in Ecorcheville, op. cit., p. 135. "Il est difficile de nous attacher quand aucune pensée ne nous arrête, et les sons ne se séparent guère de la parole qui y attache un sens. Le plus beau chant, quand il n'est qu'instrumental, devient presque nécessairement froid, puis ennuyeux, parce qu'il n'exprime rien. . . . Les sonates sont une musique comme le papier marbré est une peinture."

33. Titon du Tillet, "Lulli," Le Parnasse François, p. 394.

34. As Striffling notes, music was present at salons, fêtes etc. ". . . to agreeably complete the setting of a celebration," ("pour compléter agréablement un decor de fêtes"); no doubt conversation was still the main entertainment (op. cit., p. 120). Couperin's Concerts Royaux (1722) were composed and performed around 1714-15 for the Sunday meals of Louis XIV (see Couperin's preface to the Concerts Royaux in Couperin, Oeuvres, vol. 7, p. 9).

35. D'Alembert cited in Striffling, op. cit., p. 82. "Il faut avouer qu'en général on ne sent toute l'expression de la musique que lorsqu'elle est liée à des paroles ou à des danses."

36. Traité sur la Musique (1779) cited in Marc Pincherle, Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné (Paris: La Colombe, 1952), pp. 37-38. "Il ne suffit pas au Musicien de savoir parfaitment les règles de la mélodie et de l'harmonie; si la nature en naissant ne l'a formé Poëte, il ne sera jamais capable que de faire de bons Concertos."

37. Maniates, op. cit., p. 136.

38. For example, Dubos (1719) and Cartaud de la Vilate (1736); see Maniates, pp. 123-24 and Henrie Prunières, "Lecerf de la Viëville et l'esthétique musicale classique au XVII^{e} siècle," Bulletin français de la Société internationale de la Musique, vol. 4 (1908), pp. 636-37. De Bethizy clearly attributes the power of imitation to instrumental music when he says of the concerto ". . . it is necessary that that which the adagio paints or expresses has some relation to that which is painted or expressed in the preceding movement, and to that which is going to be in the following movement." Exposition de la Théorie et de la Pratique de la Musique second ed. (Paris, 1764), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 292. (". . . il faudrait que ce que l'adagio peint ou exprime eut quelque rapport à ce qui est peint ou exprimé dans le morceau précédant, et à ce qui va l'être dans le suivant.")

39. Striffling, op. cit., pp. 117-18. "On ne considère plus uniquement la musique comme le complément aimable d'un spectacle; on la goûte pour elle-même, et bien que sa dignité s'accroisse singulièrement lorsq'elle est associée à une représentation dramatique, on l'apprécie néanmoins, et chaque jour davantage, pour les agréments qu'elle peut apporter à la vie mondaine. . . ."

40. The controversy lasted through most of the 18th century, but la musique italienne came to have different meanings at various points in the century. Around 1710 it meant complication, while in 1752 (Querelle des Bouffons) it was synonymous with simplicity. Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 3, p. 189.

41. Instrumental music was subject to very strict guidelines for, in addition to the imitation of nature, it had to imitate le chant (song), which was considered the most natural expression of the passions. "Thus, expression must always come from song, in instrumental music as much as in vocal music." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Expression," in Dictionnaire de Musique, second ed. (Paris: Duchesne 1768), p. 208. ("Ainsi, c'est toujours du Chant que se doit tirer la principale Expression, tant dans la Musique Instrumentale que dans la Vocale.")

42. Cowart, op. cit., p. 65. See the quote from Boileau below, Chapter III, p. 45.

43. Lecerf de la Viéville, cited in Ecorcheville, op. cit., pp. 149-50. "La vraie beauté est dans un juste milieu. . . . Trop peu d'agrément est nudité, c'est un défaut. Trop d'agrément est confusion, c'est un vice. . . ."

44. Pluche, cited in Ecorcheville, p. 149. "On ne sent la vraie beauté des parures qu'autant qu'il s'y trouve de réserve, de choix, et surtout de bienséance."

45. Cowart, op. cit., p. 107.

46. This thesis will examine only the first of these querelles since the ideas which surfaced in it are the same as those which governed the Rameau-Lully controversy, and the third and fourth querelles occurred after the publication of Leclair's concertos and therefore could not have affected Leclair's work.

47. Raguenet travelled to Rome around the end of the 17th century. Upon his return to France, he published two works in 1702, the Parallèle and L'Histoire des Monuments Romains for which he received the title Citizen of Rome. Ecorcheville, op. cit., p. 109.

48. Parallèle des Anciens et Modernes en ce qui regarde les Arts et les Sciences (1688-97). See Strunk, Source Readings, p. 131, footnote 2,

49. Cowart, op. cit., p. 54.

50. For a chronology of the publications of Raguenet and Lecerf see Ecorcheville, De Lulli . . ., pp. 110-11. Perhaps the best discussion of this controversy is that of Cowart, op. cit., pp. 49-85.

51. Striffling. op. cit., p. 21. ". . . philosophes, gens de lettres, savants, beaux esprits, la ville et la cour, les salons artistocratiques et les salons bourgeois, tout le monde s'occupe de musique, s'y intéresse, s'y passione. . . ."

52. Charles de Brosses, "Lettre 50 à M. de Maleteste," Le President de Brosses en Italie: Lettres familières écrits en Italie en 1739 et 1740, fourth ed. by R. Colombe (Paris, 1885). "A Paris nous entendons de jolis menuets italiens, ou de grands airs chargés de roulades; la-dessus, apres avoir rendu justice à la beauté de l'harmonie et du chant, nous prononcons que la musique italienne ne sait que badiner sur des syllabes, et qu'elle manque de l'expression qui caracterise le sentiment. Cela n'est point du tout ainsi. . . ." See also Prunières, op. cit., p. 621.

53. Strunk, op. cit., p. 131, footnote 2.

54. Moore, "French Literature," p. 890 and Blunt, op. cit., p. 256. But see Cowart who notes that in 1635 Boisrobert delivered a diatribe against the ancients, ". . . generally considered the formal opening of the quarrel in France," op. cit., p. 36. The source of the quarrel was actually controversies in 16th century Italy. Warren Dwight Allen notes that it began in Italy 100 years earlier and that music was one of the principal areas of discussion. The question was whether or not the ancients had polyphony. Zarlino, a modern, said they had, while Vincenzo Galilei, an ancient, said they did not. See Allen's Philosophies of Music History (New York: Dover, 1969, originally 1939), pp. 38-40.

55. Cowart, op. cit., p. 27. "The Ancients wished to preserve the artistic standards established in antiquity, and the Moderns wished to create new standards based on originality and creativity." Ibid.

56. Blunt, op. cit., pp. 256-57. The major protagonists of the quarrel in literature were Perrault and Fontenelle on the side of the Moderns, Boileau and La Fontaine on that of the Ancients.

57. Cited by Strunk, loc. cit.,

58. Blunt, op. cit., p. 257.

59. H.W. Janson, History of Art, second ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 537.

60. Janson, op. cit., p. 523. (See Blunt, op. cit., p. 193, no doubt the source of Janson's statement here). The same noble aim was envisioned for music by Titon du Tillet: ". . . it is necessary to choose musicians who compose their songs and instrumental pieces on subjects which inspire virtue and worthy acts . . .," from "Remarques sur la Musique," Le Parnasse François (1732), pp. xxvij-xxviij. (". . . il faut choisir des Musiciens qui composent leurs chants et leurs Symphonies sur des sujets qui animent à la vertu et aux belles actions . . .")

61. Cowart, op. cit., p. 63.

62. Cowart, p. 88. Ecorcheville perceptively characterises it ". . . reason and the ear . . .France and Italy," op. cit., p. 123, ("la raison et l'oreille . . . la France et l'Italie"). The controversy over the French and Italian styles was extended to the field of dance as well. The rivalry of the two most famous female dancers of the era, Sallé and Camargo, presented an opportunity for comparison of the French and Italian styles; Sallé, on the French side, ". . . distinguishing herself by natural expression, nobility, and the simplicity of her poses. . .," Camargo, on the Italian side, ". . . excelling in rapid movements, in the dances where fantasy and caprice played a greater part," Striffling, op. cit., p. 165. footnote 16. The same adjectives seen so often in musical comparisons are used here: "noble," "natural," "simple" as opposed to "fantasy," "caprice." See the list of adjectives at the end of Chapter III of this thesis. (". . . distinguant par l'expression naturelle, la noblesse, et la simplicité de ses attitudes , . . . excellent dans les mouvements vifs, dans les danses où il entrait plus de fantaisie et d'imprévu.")

63. See Ecorcheville, op. cit., p. 126.

64. Cowart, op. cit., p. 88, see also pp. 57-58. In fact the first suggestion of a union of the two styles was made by Maugurs who wrote in 1639 ". . . our sin is in deficiency and the Italians' in excess. It seems to me that it would be easy for a well-minded man to create compositions which would have their lovely variety without having at the same time their extravagance . . .'" Response, p. 29, (" . . . nous pechons dans le defaut et les Italiens dans l'excez. Il me semble qu'il seroit aisé à un bon esprit de faire des compositions qui eussent leurs belles varietez, sans avoir toutefois leurs extravagances . . ."). Maugurs also views the union of the two styles as a fait accompli in the music of one of his countrymen ". . . who has adapted so well the Italian method to that of the French, that he has received general applause from all people . . .," op. cit., pp. 27-28, (". . . qui a si bien ajusté la methode Italienne avec la Françoise, qu'il en a receu un applaudissement general de tous les honnestes gens. . .").

65. Mercure de France (November, 1713), p. 62. The "Dissertation de Mr. L.T." was reprinted in Jacques Bonnet, Histoire de la Musique et de ses Effets depuis son Origine jusqu'à Present (Paris, 1715), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), p. 452. ". . . que l'on pourroit faire un genre de Musique parfait, si l'on pouvoit joindre le goût sçavant et ingenieux de l'Italien, au bon goût naturel et simple du François. . .").

66. Preface to Les Goûts-Réunis, Couperin, Oeuvres, vol. 8, p. 5. ". . . convient encore à marquer la diversité des Caracteres qu'on y trouvera rassemblés."

67. These words precede the "Essai en forme d'Ouverture" in the Apothëose de Lulli, Couperin, Oeuvres, vol. 10, p. 80. "Appollon persuade Lulli et Corelli qui la réunion des goûts François et Italien doit faire la perfection de la musique."

68. Cowart, op. cit., p. 91.

69. Cited by Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 150.

70. Cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 137. "J'ay trouvé de si belle choses dans la musique françoise, que Je me suis appliqué dans quelques-unes de mes Sonates à la concilier avec le goût Italien."

71. Cited in David Tunley, "Couperin and French Lyricism," The Musical Times, vol. 124, no. 1687 (September, 1983), p. 543.

72. Cited in Anthony, op. cit., p. 113. For similar descriptions of mixture of the two styles, see Gene Vollen, The French Cantata: A Survey and Thematic Catalogue (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp. 11-14.

73. Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 209, footnote 1.

74. Performed on November 8 and 17, 1728 and February 7, 1729, Pierre, op. cit., pp. 236-37. On the union of French and Italian styles in Stuck's music, Séré de Rieux wrote:

> Rome révère en lui l'ornement de la France,
> La France admire en lui l'italique science;
> Sous sa main ses deux goûts semblent se réunir
> Et par lui la querelle est prête de finir.
>
> (Rome reveres in him French embellishment,
> France admires his Italianate science;
> In his hands the two styles seem to unite.
> And by him the quarrel is ready to end.)

From La Musique (1727), cited in Cuthbert Girdlestone, Jean-Philippe Rameau: His Life and Work, revised and enlarged ed. (New York: Dover, 1969), p. 55, footnote 4.

75. Titon du Tillet, op. cit., p. 673. "Il y fait un mêlange agréable du Chant naturel, noble et gracieux de la Musique Françoise, avec l'harmonie sçavante et brillante de la Musique Italienne. . . ."

76. Cited in Cowart, op. cit., p. 99.

77. See Laurencie, vol. 1, p. 304 on the catalogue of Leclair's library.

78. November 17, 1728, Pierre, op. cit., p. 236.

Chapter III

1. Boyden, The History of Violin Playing, p. 95.

2. This idea persisted in the first half of the 18th century. Dupont (1718), Titon du Tillet (1732), and the Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences par M.B.C. de L'Académie Française (1732), all perpetuate the idea of the suitability of the violin for dance music. Pincherle, La Technique . . ., p. 7.

3. Raguenet, Parallèle . . ., in Strunk, Source Readings . . ., p. 126.

4. Pincherle states that the "sonata bow" was .61 meters in length, still considerably shorter than the modern .72 meters (La Technique . . ., p. 20). Boyden says the short dance bow was common to all nations in the 16th century, op. cit., p. 153.

5. Information conveyed to me by the string maker Damien Dlugolecki in conversation.

6. Louis Bollioud de Mermet, De la Corruption du Goust dans la Musique Françoise (Lyon: Delaroche, 1746), facsimile ed. (New York: AMS Press, 1978), pp. 30-31. "L'ambition de briller lui fait prendre un ton si excessif, que des chordes d'une grosseur naturelle n'y tiendroient pas; et qu'il est obligé de monter son Violon, pour ainsi dire, avec des cheveux, des Chordes qui donnent des sons maigres. . . ."

7. At this point in the work, Bollioud is talking about the new sonata player in France.

8. Aristide Wirsta notes that the "trois quarts" equals about 15 centimeters in his "Ecoles de Violon au XVIII^{e} Siècle d'après les Ouvrages didactiques," 3 vols. (Doctorate d'Université, Lettres, Paris, 1955), vol. 1, p. 7.

9. George Muffat, "Premieres Observations" of Florilegium Secundum (1698) in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Osterreich, Band 4 (Vienna, 1895), reprinted (Graz: Akademische Druk, 1959), p. 45. "La plupart des Violon d'Allemagne . . . tiennent l'archelet comme les François en serrant le crin avec le pouce . . . les Italiens . . . ne touchent point au crin."

10. Montéclair, Méthode facile (1712) cited in Wirsta, op. cit., p. 13.

11. Corrette, L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738), p. 7. "Ces deux facons de tenir l'Archet sont également bonne cela depend du Maître qui enseigne."

12. L'Abbé le fils (Joseph Barnabé Saint-Sévin), Principes de Violon (1761), facsimile reprint of Paris ed. of 1772 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976); see p. 1, "De la Manière de tenir l'Archet."

13. Reproduced as plates 22 and 31 in Boyden, op. cit.

14. Corrette, Orphée, p. 7. "Il faut necessairement poser le menton sur le violon quand on veut démancher, çela donne toutte liberté à la main gauche."

15. "To hold the violin firmly, one solidly supports the large end with the lower bouts on the left shoulder, a little beneath the cheek or lower, according to where it is found to be most comfortable . . .," Brossard, Fragments d'une Méthode de Violon (c. 1712), cited in Laurencie, L'École, vol. 1, p. 31. ("Pour tenir ferme le violon, on en appuye fortement le gros bout, oD est le bouton, contre l'épaule gauche, un peu au-dessous de la joue, ou plus bas, selon qu'on le trouvera le plus commode . . .")

16. Corrette, Orphée, p. 7; l'Abbé, op. cit., p. 1.

17. Boyden, op. cit., p. 74.

18. Boyden, p. 243.

19. Sebastien de Brossard, "Violino," Dictionaire (1705), p. 220.

20. Ibid. "La premiere maniere est tres-bonne quand le chant va fort bas; La seconde est meilleure quand le chant va fort haut. . ."

21. For example, Jean Rousseau, Méthode claire, certaine, et facile pour apprendre à chanter la Musique, fifth ed. (Amsterdam, c. 1710), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), p. 73, and Corrette, Orphée (1738).

22. Pincherle, La Technique . . ., p. 13. Pincherle notes the use of the Italian clef in Duval's fourth book of sonatas (1708). However, Newman says the Italian clef only appears with Duval's fifth book of 1715 (Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 365).

23. Pincherle, loc. cit.

24. Boyden, op. cit., p. 367. Newman also notes its use to ". . . at least 1725, as a conscious symbol of resistance to the new Italianisms," op. cit., p. 54.

25. A page of the manuscript is reproduced in "Jean-Philippe Rameau" in The New Grove, vol. 15, p. 567. A similar difference between the French and the Italians with regard to the use of the C clef in violoncello music was noted by Corrette in his Méthode théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de tems le Violoncelle dans sa perfection (Paris, 1741), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 1. Corrette states here that the French use the C clef on the third line of the staff, the Italians on the fourth line.

26. Throughout this thesis the third system of octave designation outlined in the Harvard Dictionary of Music, second ed. (Cambridge: Belknap, 1972), p. 679, is employed.

27. Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle (1636), vol. 3, p. 179.

28. Brossard, Fragments . . . (c. 1712), cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 30.

29. Ibid. ". . . mais, pour çela, il faut déplacer la main, et c'est forcer l'instrument; en un mot, du moment que çela passe une quarte juste au-dessus de 2 octaves, ce n'est plus, pour ainsi dire, le violon. . . ."

30. Pincherle notes that in the collections of Veron and Philidor, ". . . which include the majority of the ballets of the best composers [of the 17th century]," a written D (that is, open third string), is very rare and notes on the G string are not used at all. La Technique . . ., pp. 7-8 (. . . qui renferme la majeure partie des ballets des meilleurs auteurs).

31. Mersenne, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 183.

32. Bollioud de Mermet, op. cit., p. 30.

33. Raguenet, Parallèle, in Strunk, op. cit., pp. 119-20.

34. Lecerf, Comparaison, in Strunk, p. 120, footnote 4.

35. Bollioud de Mermet, op. cit., p. 24. ". . . péchent le plus souvent par la hauteur excessive du ton. . . ."

36. op. cit., p. 30. "Il quitte toute l'étenduë de son Instrument; et méprisant, pour ainsi dire, les tons sonores qu'il y trouveroit, il s'attache à tirer des sons aigres, souvent faux. . . ."

37. Johann Joachim Quantz, On Playing the Flute (Berlin, 1752), translated and edited by Edward Reilly (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pp. 325-26.

38. Striffling, op. cit., p. 32.

39. Mersenne, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 195. Mersenne notes that even the length of a bow stroke on the viol corresponds to the length of a breath.

40. Jean Rousseau, Traité de la Viole (Paris: Ballard, 1687), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1975), p. 58. ". . . aprochant plus près de la voix, que tous les Instruments doivent imiter."

41. See the quote above, Chapter II, p. 25, footnote 41.

42. Muffat, Florilegium Secundum, p. 48. "Le ton, auquel s'accordent les François es ordinairement d'un ton, et mêsme pour les Operas d'une tierce mineure plus bas, que celuy d'Allemagne, dit du Cornet, qu'ils treuvent trop haut, trop piaillant, et trop forcé."

43. Quantz, op. cit., p. 267.

44. Quantz, p. 268.

45. These pitch levels, and all those which follow, are taken from Mark Lindley's excellent article "Pitch," The New Grove, vol. 14, pp. 779-86.

46. Quantz, op. cit., p. 268.

47. Muffat's Cornet is the same as Quantz' Chorton.

48. At least, this is how I imagine Lindley arrived at a=410 for Lully's orchestra.

49. Lindley, loc. cit.

50. Ibid. The reader is urged to listen to Quadro Hotteterre's recordings of the Marais trio sonatas in which they use a pitch of a = 390 (see the record notes), thereby achieving a very warm and rich sound. Das Alte Werk 6.42035). Quantz had said the low French chamber pitch was flattering to winds (op. cit., p. 268).

51. See above, p. 42.

52. Quantz, op. cit., p. 267.

53. "Discours de Saint-Evremonde sur les Opéras François et Italiens à M. de Boukinkan [Buckingham]," Mercure Galant (February, 1683), p. 95, cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. I, p. 27. "Il admira le concert de nos violons . . . il fut fort rebuté de la rudesse et de la dureté des plus grands maistres de l'Italie, quand il eut gousté la tendresse du toucher et la propreté de nos François."

54. Perhaps in the manner of Leopold Mozart's "small softness" at the beginning of each note. See Mozart's A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing (Augsburg, 1756), translated and ed. by Edith Knocker (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 97.

55. Lecerf, Comparaison, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 142.

56. Raguenet, Parallèle, in Strunk, p. 115.

57. Muffat, Florilegium Secundum, p. 47. "La plus grande addresse des vrays Lullistes consiste en ce que parmy tant de reprises de l'archet en bas, on n'entend neantmoins Jamais rien de desagreable n'y de rude, mais au contraire on trouve . . . une tendre douceur. . . ."

58. Quantz, op. cit., p. 230.

59. Raguenet, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 119.

60. LeBlanc, Defense de la Basse de Viole, in La Revue Musicale (March, 1928), p. 139. ". . . un seul tiré d'archet dura, que le souvenir en fait perdre haleine quand on y pense."

61. This practice existed in a primitive form long before Lully, but it was Lully who codified it and brought it to perfection.

62. Boileau, L'Art Poétique (1674) cited in Anthony, op. cit., p. 47. The original lines read:

> Evitons ces excès: laissons à l'Italie
> De tous ces faux brillants l'éclatante folie,

(Collection Littéraire:XVII^{e} Siecle, p. 340).

63. Quantz, op. cit., p. 335.

64. "Dissertation de Mr. L.T.," pp. 57-58. (Bonnet, Histoire . . ., p. 450). "Un Compositeur n'est-il pas bien glorieux d'avoir fait une pièce si transposée, pleine de si, de mi, de b quarre, et d'une si grande vitesse que personne ne sçauroit y mordre, qu'il déchiffre à peine lui-même: Voilà une pièce, dit-il, que je défie tous les Joueurs d'Instruments d'executer, ni même aux Clavessins d'en trouver les accords, qu'avec bien de la peine. . . ."

65. Jacques Aubert, translated by Price, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

66. Quantz, op. cit., p. 328.

67. loc. cit., See also p. 333.

68. Quantz, p. 328.

69. Quantz, p. 116.

70. Quantz, p. 326. While there may be some objection to the heavy reliance on Quantz here for the differences between the French and Italian styles of performance, there can be little doubt that his writings are especially appropriate for the period involving Leclair's concertos, the Versuch having appeared only eight years after Leclair's second set (1744). Also, Quantz had a great deal of exposure to both styles and to both kinds of performers in his travels and in playing with the Dresden orchestra, (see Reilly's "Introduction," pp. xv-xvi).

71. Mersenne, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 356. "Quant aux Italiens . . . ils representent tant qu'ils peuvent les passions et les affections de l'ame et de l'esprit; par exemple la cholere, la fureur, le dépit, la rage, les defaillances de coeur, et plusieurs autres passions, avec une violence si estrange, que l'on jugerait quasi

71. (cont'd)
qu'ils sont touchez des mesmes affections qu'ils representent en chantant; au lieu que nos François se contentent de flatter l'oreille, et qu'ils usent d'une douceur perpetuelle dans leurs Chants; ce qui en empesche l'energie."

72. Raguenet, in Strunk, op. cit., pp. 118-19.

73. This is a footnote to an 18th century English translation of Raguenet's Parallèle attributed to Galliard by Sir John Hawkins (see Strunk's presentation of part of this translation with the original footnotes in The Musical Quarterly, July, 1946, p. 419). This account is apparently not in keeping with most contemporary descriptions of Corelli's playing (Michael Talbot, "Arcangelo Corelli," The New Grove, vol. 4, p. 772).

74. Quantz, op. cit., p. 113. See also pp. 136 and 163.

75. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Lettre sur la Musique française," (Paris 1753), in J.-J. Rousseau: Ecrits sur la Musique (Evreux: Stock, 1979), p. 274. "J'ai pris dans les deux musiques des airs également estimés chacun dans son genre, et, les dépouillant les uns de leurs ports-de-voix et de leurs cadences éternelles, les autres des notes sous-entendues que le compositeur ne se donne point la peine d'écrire, et dont il se remet à l'intelligence du chanteur. . . ."

76. Rousseau, "Cadenza," Dictionnaire, p. 69. "La Musique Françoise, sur-tout la vocale, qui est extrêment servile, ne laisse au chanteur aucune pareille liberté, dont même il seroit fort embarassé de faire usage."

77. Boyden translates the terms as "essential" and "arbitrary" and defines them as follows: essential - ". . . conventional stereotyped ornaments . . . that can be indicated by signs," arbitrary - ". . . those improvised melodic figures that cannot be reduced to signs . . .," op. cit., p. 457.

78. Quantz, op. cit., p. 162.

79. Quantz, p. 163.

80. For other examples of the French style of embellishment the reader can look at almost any of the pièces of the French claveçinistes from Chambonnières to Rameau. Another good example of the Italian style is the fourth edition of Corelli's Op. 5 ". . . where the ornaments composed by M. Corelli, as he plays them, have been added," from the "Preface" of the Augener ed. of Corelli's Op. 5, ed. by F. Chrysander (Hamburg, 1890), reprint (London; Galliard, n.d.).

81. Lecerf, Comparaison, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 133.

82. "Dissertation de Mr. L.T.," p. 11 (Bonnet, p. 429). ". . . ne pourroit-on pas dire . . . que leurs ornemens trop frequens et déplacez en étouffent l'expression . . ."

83. op. cit., pp. 41-42, (Bonnet, p. 443). ". . . a-t'il eu recours pour cela à tous ces faux brillans, et aux ornemens déplacez de la Musique Italienne? rien est-il plus simple et plus naturel que sa composition."

84. Bollioud de Mermet, op. cit., p. 31. "D'ailleurs, c'est une chose trop commune que de joüer à la lettre la Note écrite. On veut broder, fredonner, montrer de la main, de l'exécution, du travail. . . . La rapidité des traits notés ne suffit pas; il faut la redoubler. Il n'est plus question de toucher, ni de plaire il faut étourdir, etonner."

85. Quantz, op. cit., p. 325.

86. François Couperin, "Preface" to Pièces de Claveçin: Troisième Livre (Paris, 1722), translated by Kenneth Gilbert in Le Pupitre (Paris: Heugel, 1974), vol. 23. p. x.

87. Leclair, "Avertissement" to his fourth book of sonatas, Op. 9 (1743), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 86. ". . . un point important, et sur lequel on ne peut trop insister, c'est d'éviter cette confusion de notes que l'on ajoute aux morceaux de chant et d'expression et qui ne servent qu'a les defigurer."

88. Muffat, Florilegium Secundum, p. 48, (See also Muffat's Florilegium Primum in Strunk, op. cit., p. 84). ". . . ne se Jouent pas les unes égales avec autres, comme elles sont marquées . . . mais se changent à la Françoise en adjoutant . . . la valeur d'un point. . . ."

89. Etienne Loulié, Elements or Principles of Music (Paris, 1696), translated and edited by Albert Cohen (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1965), p. 29.

90. Couperin, L'Art de toucher le Claveçin (Paris, 1717), facsimile ed. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969), p. 39. ". . . nous écrivons différement de ce que nous éxécutons . . . au contraire les Italiens écrivent leur musique dans les vrayes valeurs qu'ils L'ont pensée. Par exemple, nous pointons plusieurs croches de suites par degrès-conjoints; Et cependant nous les marquons égales."

91. Michel Corrette, cited in Robert Donington, The Interpretation of Early Music, new version (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 460.

92. Raguenet, Parallèle, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 117. Italians as far back as G. B. Doni criticised French simplicity, (see Cowart, op. cit., p. 10).

93. Raguenet, in Strunk, p. 118.

94. "Dissertation de Mr. L.T.," pp. 46-47, (Bonnet, p. 445). ". . . diminuer la force par le trop frequent usage, comme font les Italiens . . . tomber dans la Monotonie . . . que les Italiens pourroient plutôt nous reprocher . . ."

95. Quantz, op. cit., p. 329.

96. Lecerf, Comparaison, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 133. Lecerf's definition of "simple" is presented on page 52 of this thesis.

97. Bollioud de Mermet, op. cit., p. 10. Bukofzer similarly notes the diatonic nature of Lully's harmony, Music in the Baroque Era, p. 160. "Je l'admire sur tout dans la préférence qu'il a donné au genre Diatonique, dans la scrupuleuse Sobriété avec laquelle il a usé du Chromatique."

98. "Dissertation de Mr. L.T.," pp. 15-16, (Bonnet, p. 431). ". . . leurs Pièces roulent sur tout les tons, et changent de mode à chaque instant: ensorte que l'on ne sçaurait dire à la fin duquel ils font."

99. op. cit., p. 59. (Bonnet, p. 451). (Mr. L.T. goes on to say that these modulations do work better on the violin.) ". . . ont peu de justesse sur les Instrumens et principalement sur le clavessin. . . ."

100. op. cit., pp. 50-51, (Bonnet, pp. 446-47). "Si l'on reproche a Lully d'avoir employé rarement les tons transposez, ce n'est pas qu'il en ignorât l'usage; mais c'est qui'il a'accomodoit aux sujets qu'il avoit . . . il sentoit bien qu'un chant n'en étoit pas plus beau pour être transposé d'un demi ton plus haut ou plus bas. . . ."

101. Raguenet, Parallèle, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 117.

102. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Lettre sur la Musique française," p. 280. ". . . la hardiesse des modulations, qui, quoique moins servilement préparées que les nôtres . . . ajoutent une vive énergie à l'expression. C'est par elle que le musicien , passant brusquement d'un ton ou d'un mode à une autre, et supprimant, quand il le faut, les transitions intermediaires et scolastiques . . . ."

103. Quantz, op. cit., p. 285.

104. Georg Muffat, preface to Auserlesene Instrumental-Music (1701), in Strunk, op. cit., p. 91.

105. C.P.E. Bach, Essay on the True Art. . . (Berlin, 1753), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 280.

106. Raguenet, Parallèle, in Strunk, op. cit., p. 127.

107. Michel Corrette, Méthode théorique . . . (1741), p. 46. "Quoy que les habiles Violons Jouent les Adagio et Largo sans battre la mesure, cela n'empêche pas cependant que l'on ne joüe de mesure ce que le Violoncelle doit aussi observer: et ce que les Italiens pratiquent avec beaucoup de justesse ne battans la mesure que dans les musiques a grand Choeur."

108. J.-J. Rousseau, "Lettre. . .," p. 280. "Le troisième avantage et celui qui prête à la mélodie son plus grand effet, est l'extrême précision de mesure qui s'y fait sentir dans les mouvements les plus lents, ainsi que dans les plus gais. . . ."

109. J.- J. Rousseau, "Chronometre," in Dictionnaire de Musique (1768), p. 100, (also cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 264). Rousseau notes the freedom of tempo in French performance in several other places as well: "Lettre. . .," pp. 265-66, 276; "Battre la Mesure," in the Dictionnaire, p. 52. ". . . chante ou joue plus ou moins lentement d'une Mesure à l'autre, et même d'un Tems et d'un quart-de-Tems à celui qui le suit. A la vérité cette objection qui est d'une grande force pour la Musique Françoise, n'en auroit aucune pour l'Italienne, soumise irremissiblement à la plus exacte Mesure: rien même ne montre mieux l'opposition parfaite de ces deux Musiques; . . . la Musique Italienne tire son énergie de cet asservissement à la rigeur de la Mesure, la Françoise cherche la sienne à maîtriser à son gré cette même Mesure, à la presser, à la ralentir selon que l'exige le goût du Chant. . . ."

110. Couperin, L'Art de toucher le Claveçin (1717), p. 61. Couperin may be admonishing here, or simply giving a good musical lesson. "Prendre bien garde à ne point altérer le mouvement dans les pièces-réglés; et à ne point rester sur des notes dont la valeur soit finie."

111. Leclair, from the preface to his fourth book of sonatas, Op. 9 (1743), translated by Zaslaw, Materials, pp. 263-64.

112. Muffat, Florilegium Primum (1695), in Strunk, op. cit., p. 84.

113. Sebastien de Brossard, "Minuetto," Dictionnaire de Musique (1705), p. 45. "On devroit à l'imitation des Italiens se servir du signe 3/8 ou 6/8 pour en marquer le mouvement . . . mais l'usage de la marquer par un simple 3. ou triples de noires a prévalu."

114. Jean Rousseau, Méthode claire . . . (c. 1710), p. 36. "On se sert encore en Italie d'autres signes de Mesure, comme le 9 pour 3. le 12 pour 16. et le 3 pour 16. qui se marquent de la même maniere que les autres sont marquées ici dessus," (The "9 pour 3" is no doubt a printing error and should read "9 pour 8").

115. op. cit., p. 45. "On met encore en usage dans les Musiques Italiennes plusieurs autres signes, comme Douze pour Quatre, Douze pour Huit, Neuf pour Quatre, Neuf pour Huit, et autres."

116. For example, 3/8 ". . . is used in French music for passepieds and sometimes in the reprise of ouvertures. . . . The Italians use it in allegros, adagios, affettuosos, vivaces. . .," Michel Corrette, L'Ecole d'Orphée (1738), p. 5. (". . . sert dans la Musique Françoise pour les Passepieds et quelque fois dans la Reprise des Ouvertures . . . Les Italiens le mettent en usage dans les Allegro, Adagio, Affettuoso, Vivace. . . .")

117. loc. cit. "(6/4. . . sert dans la Musique Françoise pour les Loures . . . Forlanes et quelque fois dans la Reprise des Ouvertures. On le trouve tres peu dans la Musique Italienne";
"(3/2) . . . Est fort peu en usage dans la Musique Françoise. Les Auteurs italiens écrivent fort souvent les Sarabandes et les Adagio de ce mouvement";
"(9/8). . . se trouve très peu dans la Musique Françoise mais assez souvent dans la Musique Italienne comme Gigue, Allegro, Presto. . . ."

118. Corrette, Orphee, p. 4, "fort en usage dans la Musique Italienne."

119. op. cit., pp. 13-19. The violin clef used throughout this section is the French clef, first line G (pp. 13-25).

120. op, cit., pp. 27-29.

121. Jacques Hotteterre, L'Art de preluder sur la FlOte Traversière (Paris, 1719), facsimile ed. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1978), pp. 57-61. Some writers made no distinction between French and Italian usage of these time signatures, for example, Etienne Loulié, Elements or Principles of Music (1696), pp. 26-33, and Piere Dupont, Principes de Musique (Paris, 1718).

122. Although Corrette says 3/2 is ". . . very rarely used in French music," (see above, p. 67), Hotteterre notes its use in ". . . pathetic and sentimental movements such as sommeils, plaintes . . .," (op. cit., p. 58), and it is encountered with enough frequency in the music of Lully to warrant its inclusion here as a signature common to both nations.

123. Hotteterre notes that 6/8 is used principally in the Italian genres of sonata and cantata, op. cit., p. 60.

124. The works examined for this purpose include Alceste, Amadis, Cadmus et Hermione, Le Mariage Forcé, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Le Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles (Georges Dandin), and L'Amour Medecin, a fairly representative sampling of Lully's operas and ballets.

125. In Corelli's Op. 5, C appears 26 times, 3/4 - 13 times, 6/8 and 12/8 each 5 times, 3/2 and 3/8 each 3 times, and ¢ twice. (I rely here on the Chrysander edition).

126. In these 36 concertos C and 3/4 are used far more frequently than the other signatures; C appears 48 times, 3/4 - 41 times, 3/8 - 11 times, 12/8 - 6 times, and 6/8 once. (I rely here on the Ricordi edition).

Chapter IV

1. p. 70.

2. See Chapter II, pp. 30-32.

3. Chapter II, pp. 31-32.

4. Modern writers describe the union of the two styles in the same way, as a union of French melody with Italian harmony. For example, Edward Higginbottom writes: "The mixture of French and Italian elements is probably the factor in Couperin's style that led Mellers to refer to the 'paradox of sensuous purity' in his music. This paradox springs from the conjunction of a restrained and simple melodic style with a rich and diversified harmonic vocabulary," "François Couperin," The New Grove, vol. 4, p. 864, (Mellers' reference to this 'paradox of sensuous purity' is found in his article on Couperin in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians fifth ed., ed. by Eric Blom, London: MacMillan, 1954, vol. 2, p. 487). In this article on Couperin, Mellers also speaks of ". . . Couperin's reconciliation of diatonic simplicity in melody with hypersophistication of ornament and of sequential harmony," op. cit., p. 491.

5. Le Père Ménestrier, Des Représentations en Musique anciennes et modernes (Paris, 1681), cited in Laurencie, Le Goût Musical p. 135. Quantz also notes that Lully mixed the French and Italian styles, op. cit., p. 321. "Il est né au pays des belles choses, et il s'est tellement accomodé à nos moeurs, qu'il a fait, du caractère et de l'esprit de sa nation et de celui de la notre, ce juste mélange de l'un et de l'autre qui plaît, qui touche, qui enlève."

6. Titon du Tillet, Le Parnasse François, p. 47. ". . . est le père de la belle Musique Françoise, et l'a portée à sa perfection, abandonnant entièrement le goût de la Musique Italienne."

7. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, p. 155.

8. Anthony, French Baroque Music, p. 52.

9. Claude Palisca, Baroque Music, second ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1981), p. 227.

10. Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 153.

11. The concerts are numbered consecutively through the two books: Book I (1722), numbers 1-4; Book II (1724), numbers 5-14.

12. See Chapter III, pp. 64-69 on time signatures.

13. Concert instrumental sous le Titre d'Apothéose composé à la Mémoire immortelle de l'incomparable Monsieur de Lulli (published 1725). J.A. Sadie suggests this work was composed in the 1690's in her review of David Tunley's Couperin, The Musical Times, vol. 124, no. 1681 (March, 1983), p. 170.

14. The first ten measures of this movement represent an interesting example of the second aspect of Couperin's goûts-réunis, fusion, for above the walking bass we find French dotted rhythms. Fusion of the two styles will be discussed in detail below.

15. Erich Schenk considers triplets to be an Italian charactersitic, noting they are not found in Lully's music (DTO, vol. 89, p. xii), cited in Wesley Berg, "National Styles in the Music of Georg Muffat," unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1971, p. 58. Berg notes a similar juxtaposition of French dotted rhythms and Italian triplets in the fourth sonata of Muffat's Armonico Tributo (1682), loc. cit.,

16. See footnote 14 of Chapter IV.

17. On the Italian corrente see Barbara Seagrave, "The French Style of Violin Bowing and Phrasing from Lully to Jacques Aubert," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1958, pp. 198-900, 265.

18. Couperin Oeuvres, vol. 8, p. 5. ". . . convient encore à marquer la diversité des Caracteres qu'on y trouvera rassemblés."

19. When these concertos were written is not known. Zaslaw suggests that Leclair wrote them in the 1720's and 30's and only published them later, "Jean-Marie Leclair," The New Grove, vol. 10, p. 591.

20. Pincherle, Vivaldi, p. 250.

21. Bach, too, modelled his concertos on those of Vivaldi.

22. Hutchings describes these opening ritornellos as follows: ". . . contrasted but organically connected ideas which can later be disconnected and then rejoined in a different order; one of these will be used as a ritornello and another (either directly or in a varied form) for treatment by the solo. . .," The Baroque Concerto, p. 147.

23. As Bukofzer notes, three types of material are given to the soloist in the concerto: ". . . (1) virtuoso figuration, not related to the tutti theme,(2) soloistic figuration and expansion of the tutti idea, and (3) a solo idea distinct from that of the ritornello. While Albinoni and Torelli favored the first, most primitive method and made occasional use of the second, Vivaldi favored the second method and made occasional use of the third," (op. cit., p. 230). The majority of Leclair's solos begin in the second manner, expansion of tutti ideas, and several of his solos present new themes, for example, the first solo of Op. 10/6/i, m.54ff. Leclair also allows the solo violin to begin a movement (Op. 7/1/ii, op. 10/6/ii) as Vivaldi does in, for example, Op. 4/12/iii.

24. Pincherle Catalogue number.

25. Walter Kolneder, Performance Practice in Vivaldi, translated by Anne de Dadelsen (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1979), pp. 14-15.

26. Pluche, Spectacle de la Nature (1746), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 96. "Messieurs de la Lande, Moret, de Bossuet, Couprin, d'Agincourt, LeClerc, qui ont toujours prétendu que le premier mérite de la musique était la mélodie ou le beau chant. . . ."

27. Blainville, L'Esprit de l'Art musicale (17520), cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 313. "A l'égard de Leclair, conservant dans ses Sonates le caractère national, à travers tous les traits dont il sçait embellir ce genre de musique . . . tout y annonce le Corelly de la France."

28. De Bernis, Nécrologe des Hommes célèbres de France (Paris, 1767). cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 178. ". . . il restait à LeClair la gloire de l'enrichir, et de l'adapter à notre goût. . . ."

29. Boisgelou, "Concerto," Encyclopédie méthodique de Musique, ed. by Framery et al (Paris, 1791-1818), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 207. "Letour français de la plupart des phrases n'empêche pas qu'il n'y en ait de fort agréables."

30. Paillard, "Les premiers . . .," p. 162. ". . . c'est à lui que revient le mérite d'avoir parfaitement assimilé à notre art une forme étrangère."

31. Edwart Lippman, notes for Haydn Society Recording HSL-95 (1954), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 222, footnote 2.

32. Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 250.

33. This may account in part for Bukofzer's statement.

34. ". . . sognenannten tartinischen Bogen," Marpurg cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 113.

35. Unfortunately, there are, to my knowledge, no pictures of Leclair actually playing the violin.

36. Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 311, On Leclair's upper register playing LeBlanc wrote: "sic itur ad astra," (thus he reaches the stars), Defense . . ., cited in Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 311.

37. In this, Leclair differs from Vivaldi who, when he lightens the accompaniment, most often includes the violas. Leclair generally uses only the violins, and this texture frequently occurs in the first solo of the first movements of his concertos, for example, Op. 7/2/i, m.38ff; Op. 7/3/i, m.26ff; Op. 10/6/i, m.18ff etc.

38. See Chapter III, p. 39.

39. It was also Italian in terms of difficulty of execution, (see below).

40. Ancelet, Observations sur la Musique (Amsterdam, 1757), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 137. ". . . c'est à cet habile homme que les violons François ont le plus d'obligation; il leur a montré la maniere de vaincre les difficultés. . . ."

41. Ibid. ". . . combien n'est-on pas dédommagé par son sçavoir et la netteté de son exécution?"

42. Cited in Penny Schwarze, "Styles of Composition and Performance in Leclair's Concertos," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983, p. 325. Zaslaw provides the date of this meeting, December 22, 1728, in Materials, p. 29.

43. Mercure de France (June, 1738), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 57. ". . . tres-capable de réunir en lui le sentiment, le tendre, et le doux de le Clerc, avec le feu, le brillant, et le surprenant de Guignon." This statement sounds like a number of comparisons of French and Italian music and it could easily have come from one of the theorists cited in Chapter II of this thesis.

44. Chapter III, p. 45. Pincherle also notes that Leclair must have learned the long stroke from Somis, (Leclair, pp. 45).

45. Evidence that the Rule of the Down Bow was disappearing in France in the 18th century is provided by LeBlanc and Brijon: "Playing in the new manner, he caused admiration, not as he had in Lully's time, when the bow strokes were chopped up, and the stroke of the hatchet was marked in each measure . . . Here neither the down bow nor the up bow were separated. A continuous sound was heard . . .," LeBlanc, Defense (1740), La Revue Musicale, (December, 1927), p. 137, ("Jouant à la nouvelle manière, il se fit admirer, comme il n'avoit pas fait du temps de Lully, ou les coups d'archet étoient hachés, et le coup de hache marqué a chaque mesure . . . Ici on ne démêloit ni le tiré ni le poussé. Un son continu se faisoit entendre . . .). Brijon complains of string players playing the same part ". . . the one with the bow at the frog, the other with the bow at the point . . . those who play the same part must use the same bow stroke . . .," Réflexions sur la Musique (Paris, 1763), cited in Eugene

45. (cont'd)
Borrel, L'Interprétation de la Musique françoise (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1934), pp. 48-49, (" . . . l'un l'archet et haut, l'autre l'archet en bas . . . il faut que ceux qui jouent la même partie, observent le même coup d'archet.").

46. The advertisement is reprinted in Zaslaw, Materials, pp. 79-80.

47. This hypothesis was conceived by Zaslaw and conveyed to me in conversation in July, 1983.

48. Mercure de France (June, 1738), cited in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 56. ". . . parut d'abord de l'Algebre, capable de rebuter les plus courageux Musiciens. . . ."

49. Zaslaw, Materials, p. 23. The fact is, however, that the chordal writing in this book is so difficult that it led Robert Eitner to conclude that Leclair used a five string violin (there is no evidence to support this). See Eitner's "Vorwort" to his edition of Leclair's Op. 2 sonatas in Publikation aelterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke, Band 27 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1903), reprint (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966). ". . . pour meriter le bonheur de luy plaire plus generalement, j'ay pris soin de composer des Sonates a la portée des personnes plus ou moins habiles. . . ."

50. See Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, pp. 324-29, 336-37; Pincherle, Leclair, pp. 56-71; and Micheline Lemoine, "La Technique violinistique de Jean-Marie Leclair," La Revue Musicale, vol. 226 (1955), pp. 117-43.

51. Of course, the Germans had long developed an extremely sophisticated manner of chordal writing for the violin, as seen in the music of Biber, Schmelzer, Walther, and Bach.

52. For example, the slow movements of Opp. 7/1, 7/6, 10/4, and 10/6. Also, double stops play a prominent role in the slow movement of Op. 10/1.

53. Chapter I, p. 7. Leclair's concertos are much more demanding technically than Vivaldi's. This is due less to a later date of publication (for if they were composed in the 1720's as Zaslaw suggests - see above, p.140, footnote 19 - they come from the same time as Vivaldi's Op. 8), than to the probability that Vivaldi simplified his concertos for publication (see Kolneder, Performance Practice in Vivaldi, p. 10, and Nikolaus Harnoncourt, "Record Notes" to his recording of Vivaldi's Op. 8, Das Alte Werk, 6.35386EK)

54. Striffling, op. cit., pp. 148-49. ". . . l'on peut dire que le mérite de la difficulté vaincue l'emportait sur tout autre. . . on demandait à l'artiste non pas tant d'émouvoir, que d'émerveiller l'auditoire. . . ."

55. op. cit., p. 149.

56. Laurencie, Le Goût Musical, p. 208. On several occasions Leclair played concertos on the same concert with Guignon at the Concert Spirituel, for example, November 17 and 22, 1728, and December 25, 1734 (Pierre, op. cit., pp. 236, 243). Also, the meeting of Leclair and Locatelli in 1728 noted above seems to have been, similarly, a contest . ". . . la masse de publique se passionait pour les 'assauts de violon,' imaginés par les directeurs des concerts dans le but de corser leurs programmes. En mettant ainsi aux prises des virtuoses en renom, tels que Guignon et Leclair, ils étaient certains de refuser du monde à la porte."

57. De Bernis, Necrologe (1767) in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 179.

58. Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, pp, 320, 325.

59. Quantz, from Chapter III of this thesis, p. 51.

60. Penny Schwarze discusses realization of the + symbol in Leclair's concertos in her dissertation, "Styles of Composition . . .," pp. 259-66.

61. In this Leclair shows a similarity to Bach who, as Donington notes, was ". . . untypical in notating most of the figuration which others would have left to be supplied as free ornamentation. . .," Robert Donington, "Ornaments," The New Grove, vol. 13, p. 827.

62. On page 52.

63. See the quote from Leclair's Op. 9 presented in Chapter III, p. 55.

64. Chapter III, p. 51.

65. For example, in Op. 7/5/ii, measures 25 and 47, and in Op. 10/1/iii, m. 115.

66. As Boyden notes, Quantz was one of the first to call for cadenzas constructed of the main ideas of the piece, Boyden, op. cit., p. 334. (See Quantz, op. cit., pp. 181-82).

67. It has already been shown that this was considered a French practice, See Chapter III, pp. 55-56.

68. Zaslaw, Materials, pp. 231-33.

69. Unfortunately Paillard does not use inégales at all in his recording of the complete concertos of Leclair; Erato STU 71093.

70. Chapter III, p. 56.

71. See Chapter III, p. 57.

72. Ibid.

73. Mercure de France (June, 1738), in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 56 ". . . parut d'abord de l'Algebre, capable de rebuter les plus courageux Musiciens, mais qu'on a beaucoup goûte dans la suite, d'abord qu'on a pu pénétrer les principes de la belle harmonie en général, et ceux de cet Instrument en particulier."

74. De Bernis (1767), in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 177. Leclair was compared favorably with Rameau in the area of harmony by de Rozoi in 1764, see Zaslaw, op. cit., p. 150. ". . . réussit d'abord . . . a surmonter les difficultés qu'il s'imposait lui-même, par une théorie bien plus profonde que celle qu'il trouvait établie, et qui, par consequent, exigeait une pratique bien plus savante."

75. Anthony notes that Couperin's Concerts Royaux (1722) are basically French in that ". . . their dissonances come from French ornamentation and linear clashes rather than from suspensions or sequences of 7th chords," op. cit., p. 309.

76. See Chapter III, pp. 58-59.

77. The principal of thematic unity in sonatas (all movements having themes which are variations of the first theme) is very old. Laurencie notes that Marini used it in Affetti Musicali of 1617, "Le Rôle de Leclair dans la Musique instrumentale," La Revue Musicale, vol. 4 (February, 1923), p. 18.

78. Chapter III, p. 61.

79. LeBlanc, Defense, in La Revue Musicale (December, 1927), p. 138. "Les trois XII^e Sonates des livres de M. Lecler étalèrent en pompe la majesté du jeu de violon et la justesse des accords dont il est susceptible, à l'exclusion de L'Orgue et du Clavecin, où il se fait des jurements exécrables, lors du passage du ton mineure au grand ton majeure."

80. Like Bonnet, LeBlanc notes that the violin can tune each note properly in any key, but the harpsichord can not.

81. Anthony notes that this bimodal approach is seen in much French music from the mid 17th century on and is especially exploited by Senaillié and Leclair, op. cit., pp. 331-32.

82. LeBlanc, op. cit., (December, 1927), p. 139. ". . . vous et l'Orgue en avez les trois quarts de fausses. Une oreille fine ne saurait chez vous entendre le joueur . . . qu'en s'imposant silence sur le défaut de justesse dans l'instrument, et au rapport que fait l'oreille de tant d'accords qui impatientent l, auditeur délicat plutôt que de la flater."

83. See Chapter III, p. 61-62.

84. J.-J. Rousseau, cited in Chapter III, p. 62. On the harmonic language of Leclair's sonatas, see Robert Preston, "The Treatment of Harmony in the Violin Sonatas of Jean-Marie Leclair," Recherches sur la Musique Française classique. Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1963, vol. 3, pp. 131-54.

85. Zaslaw notes that in his sonatas and concertos Leclair used Italian tempo markings while in his French pieces (ouvertures, suites etc. he used French markings. (Materials, p. 297).

86. "unification des vitesses." Laurencie, L'Ecole, vol. 1, p. 138. Newman also notes this tendency towards moderate tempos in Leclair's music, The Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 381.

87. On the use of the word assai David Fallows has written: ". . . Beethoven normally used the word assai to mean not 'very' but 'rather' and . . . Brossard gave that meaning for the word . . .," "Tempo and Expression Marks," The New Grove, vol. 18, p. 678, (See Brossard, "Assai," Dictionaire de Musique, p. 6). Elsewhere Fallows notes ". . . there is considerable evidence that most early uses of the word assai should be taken in that [rather or moderate] sense," "Assai," The New Grove, vol. 1, p. 659. Leclair undoubtedly observes this tradition.

88. Four slow movements are marked Aria grazioso or Aria gratioso, Schwarze notes a precedent for this usage in Couperin's use of the term air gracieux, (op. cit., p. 91). Jacques Aubert uses the term gracioso for the slow movements of the first and sixth concertos of his Op. 17 set of 1734.

89. See Kolneder's list of Vivaldi's tempo markings in Performance Practice in Vivaldi, pp. 12-13.

90. Leclair, "Avertissement" to his Op. 13 collection of ouvertures and sonatas (1753), in Zaslaw, Materials, p. 128. This quote illustrates the fact that in the 18th century designations such as allegro and adagio had less to do with speed than with character (see also Quantz, op. cit., p. 126). ". . . je n'entend point par le terme d'allegro un mouvement trop vite; c'est un mouvement guay. Ceux qui le pressent trop, surtout dans les morceaux de caractaire, comme dans la plupart des Fugues a quatre Temps, rendent le chant trivial, au lieu d'en conserver la noblesse".

91. In Zaslaw, p. 53. "Ce petit ouvrage ne peut être bien rendu que d'autant que les personnes qui l'Executeront seront suceptible de gout, de finesse dans le jeu, et de precision pour la mesure."

92. Cited in Chapter III of this thesis, p. 66.

93. J.W. Lustig, cited in Schwarze, op. cit., p. 325.

94. See Chapter III, p. 69.

95. Chapter III, pp 68-69.

96. Three of these slow movements are labelled Aria grazioso or gratioso

97. The third mpvement of Op. 10/4 presents the rather strange looking signature $\frac{4}{4}$. Zaslaw suggests Leclair used it here to signify a tempo twice as fast as that of the preceding movement (Materials, p. 247). Schwarze suggests the $\frac{4}{4}$ merely signifies a faster tempo without suggesting how much faster, (op. cit., p. 235). The only similar signature I have seen is, $\frac{3}{4}$ in Montéclair's Concerts à deux Flûtes traversières (c. 1730), where it is used to signify 6/8.

98. Zaslaw notes this movement has "similar character and tempo" to the menuet, Materials, pp. 319-20, footnote 2.

99. A similar occurrence, where a menuet-like finale exhibits sequential development following a statement of the melody, is seen in Op. 10/2, where the sequence begins at m.17.

100. Chapter IV, p. 71.

101. See Chapter IV, p. 90.

102. See Chapter IV, p. 82.

103. Ibid.

104. Other fast movements which have extended sections in the opposite mode are Op. 7/3/iii, Op. 7/6/iii, Op. 10/3/i, and Op. 10/5/iii. Of course several of the slow movments are pairs of dances in alternate modes, for example, the slow movements of Op. 7/1, Op. 7/6, and Op. 10/4.

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